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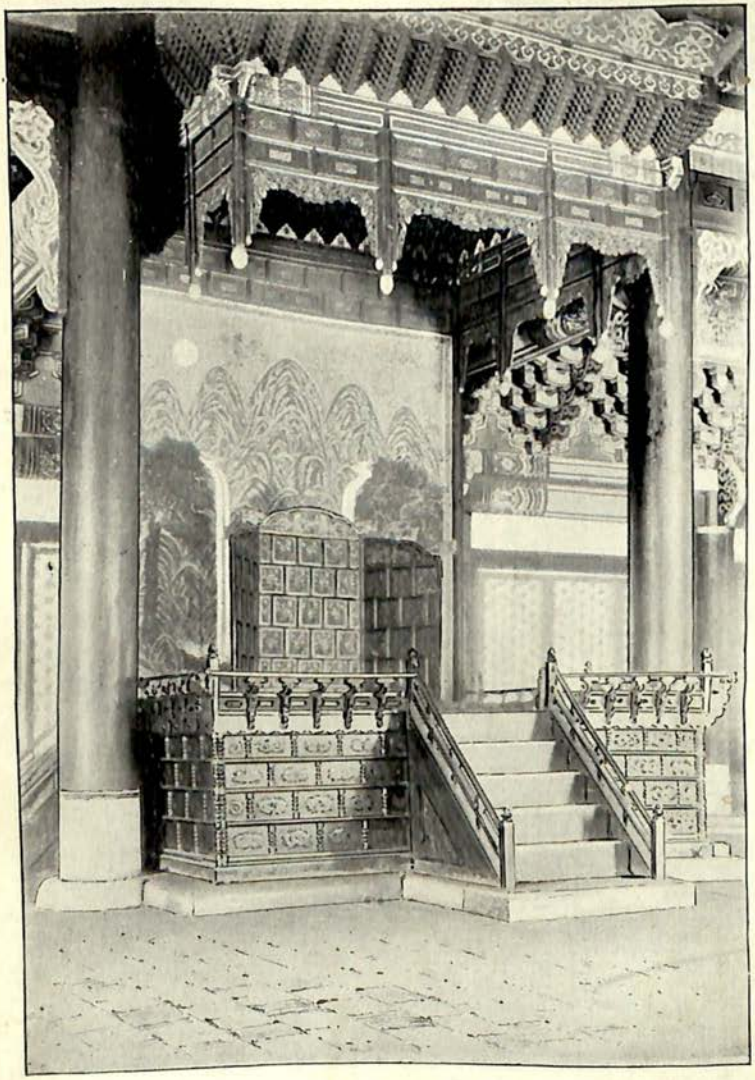

KOREAN THRONE.

KOREA & HER NEIGHBOURS

A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and present position of the Country

BY MRS. BISHOP
(ISABELLA L. BIRD)
F.R.G.S.; HONORARY FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF PEKING, ETC. ETC.

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WITH A PREFACE BY

SIR WALTER C. HILLIER, K.C.M.G.
LATE H.B.M.'S CONSUL-GENERAL FOR KOREA

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOLUME II

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1898

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ERRATUM.

Page 116, line 27, *for* "1893" *read* "1593."

CHAPTER XIX

THE KOREAN FRONTIER

THE chief object of my visit to Russian Manchuria was to settle for myself by personal investigation the vexed question of the condition of those Koreans who have found shelter under the Russian flag, a number estimated in Seoul at 20,000. It was there persistently said that Russia was banishing them in large numbers, and that several thousands of them had already recrossed the Tumen, and were in such poverty that the King of Korea had sent agents to the north who were to settle them on lands in Ham-gyŏng Do.

In Wladivostok the servant-interpreter difficulty was absolutely insurmountable. No efforts on the part of my friends could obtain what did not exist, and I was on the verge of giving up what proved a very interesting journey, when the Director of the Siberian Telegraph Lines very kindly liberated the senior official in his department, who had not had a holiday for many years, to go with me. Mr. Heidemann, a German from the Baltic provinces, spoke German, Russian, and English with nearly equal ease, and as a Russian official was able to make things smoother than

they might otherwise have been in a very rough part of Primorsk. He was tall, good-looking, and verging on middle age, very gentlemanly, never failed in any courtesy, understood how to manage *moujiks*, and was a capable and willing interpreter; but he was official, reticent, and uninterested, and gave me the impression of being frozen into his uniform!

Fortified as to my project by the cordial approval of the Governor, the courtesy of the Telegraph Department, and the singular splendour of the weather, I left Wladivostok by a red sunrise in a small steamer, which accomplished the 60 miles to Possiet Bay in seven hours, landing us in a deep inlet of clear water and white sand, soon to be closed by ice, at the foot of low and absolutely barren hills fringing off into sandy knolls, where Koreans with their ox-carts awaited the steamer. A well-spread tea-table at the house of the Russian postmaster was very welcome. Such a strong-looking family I had seldom seen, but afterwards I found that size and strength are characteristic of the Russian settlers in Primorsk.

Possiet Bay is a large military station of fine barracks and storehouses. It scarcely seemed to possess a civil population, but there are Korean settlements at no great distance, from which much of the beef-supply of Wladivostok is derived. We met a number of strong, thriving-looking Koreans driving 60 fine fat cattle down to the steamer.

The post waggon, in which we were cramped up among and under the mail-bags, took us at a two hours' gallop along frozen inlets of the sea and across frozen rivers, over grassy, hilly country, scarcely enlivened by Korean farms in the valleys, to Nowo Kiewsk, which we reached after

nightfall, and were hospitably received by the representative of Messrs. Kuntz and Albers, whose large brick and stone establishment is the prominent object in the settlement.

Nowo Kiewsk is a great military post, to which 1000 civilians, chiefly Koreans and Chinese, have been attracted by the prospect of gain. Koreans indeed form the bulk of this population, and do all the hauling of goods and fuel with their ox-teams. The centre of the town is a great dusty slope intersected by dusty and glaring roads, which resound at intervals from early morning till sunset with the steady tramp of brown-ulstered battalions. Between Possiet Bay and Nowo Kiewsk there were 10,000 infantry and artillery, and at the latter post 8 pieces of field artillery and 24 two-wheeled ammunition waggons. Barracks for 10,000 more men were in course of rapid construction. Long wooden sheds shelter the artillery ponies, and villages of low mud houses of two rooms each, with windows consisting of a single small pane of glass, the families of soldiers. There are great drill and parade grounds and an imposing Greek church of the usual pattern.

With its great open spaces and wide streets, Nowo Kiewsk looks laid out for futurity, straggling along a treeless and bushless hill-slope for 2 miles. In addition to Kuntz and Albers, with their polyglot staff of clerks, among whom a young Korean in European dress was conspicuous for his gentlemanliness and alacrity, there is another German house, and there are forty small shops, chiefly kept by Chinese, at all of which *schnaps* and *vodka* are sold.

I was detained there for three days while arrangements for my southern journey were being made, and during that

time the Chief of Police, who spoke French, took me to several Korean villages. So far as I saw and heard, the whole agricultural population of the neighbourhood is Korean, and is in a very prosperous condition. There, and down to the Korean frontier, most of these settlers are doing well, and some of them are growing rich as contractors for the supply of meat and grain to the Russian forces. At this they have beaten their Chinese neighbours, and they actually go into Chinese Manchuria, buy up lean cattle, and fatten them for beef. To those who have only seen the Koreans in Korea, such a statement will be hardly credible. Yet it does not stand alone, for I have it on the best authority that the Korean settlers near Khabaroffka have competed so successfully with the Chinese in market gardening that the supplying that city with vegetables is now entirely in their hands!

The Russian *tarantass* is one of the most uncouth of civilised vehicles—all that can be said of it is that it suits the roads, which in that region are execrable. On two sets of stout wheels and axles, attached to each other by long solid timbers, a long shallow box is secured, with one, two, or even three boards, cushioned or not, "roped" across it for seats. It may be drawn by either two or three horses abreast, one in the shafts and one or two outside, each with the most slender attachment to the vehicle, and his head held down and inwards by a tight strap. This outer animal is trained to a showy gallop, which never slackens even though the shaft horse may keep up a decorous trot. The *tarantass* has no springs, and, going at a gallop, bumps and bounces over all obstacles, holes, hillocks, ruts and streams being alike to it.

The *tarantass* of the Chief of Police made nothing of the obstacles on the road to Yantchihe, where we were to hear of a Korean interpreter. The level country, narrowing into a valley bordered by fine mountains, is of deep, rich black soil, and grows almost all cereals and roots. All the crops were gathered in and the land was neatly ploughed. Korean hamlets with houses of a very superior class to

KOREAN SETTLER'S HOUSE.

those in Korea were sprinkled over the country. At one of the largest villages, where 140 families were settled on 750 acres of rich land, we called at several of the peasant farmers' houses, and were made very welcome, even the women coming out to welcome the official with an air of decided pleasure. The farmers had changed the timid, suspicious, or cringing manner which is characteristic of them to a great extent at home, for an air of frankness and manly independence which was most pleasing.

The Chief of Police was a welcome visitor. The Koreans

had nothing to fear, unless his quick scent discerned an insanitary odour, or his eye an unwarrantable garbage heap! The farm-yards were clean and well swept, and the domestic animals were lodged in neat sheds. The houses, of strictly Korean architecture, were large, with five or six rooms, carefully thatched, and very neat within, abounding in such comforts and plenishings as would only be dreamed of by mandarins at home. It is insisted on, however, that, instead of the flues which heat the floors vomiting forth their smoke through many blackened apertures in the walls, they shall unite in sending it heavenwards through a hollow tree-trunk placed at a short distance from the house. This, and cleanly surroundings in the interests of sanitation, are the only restrictions on their Korean habits. The clothing and dwellings are the same as in Korea, and the "top-knot" flourishes.

A little farther on there is the large village of Yantchihe, with a neat schoolhouse, in which Russian and Korean pupils sit side by side at their lessons, a Greek church, singularly rich in internal decorations, and a priest's house adjoining. This is a very prosperous village. In the neat police station a Korean sergeant wrote down my requirements and sent off a smart Korean policeman in search of an interpreter. Four hundred Koreans in this neighbourhood have conformed to the Greek Church and have received baptism. On asking the priest, who was more picturesque than cultivated, and whose large young family seemed oppressively large for the house, what sort of Christians they made, he replied suggestively that they had "a great deal to learn,"

and that there would be "more hope for the next generation."

I am not clear in my own mind as to the cause of the success which has attended "missionary effort" at Yantchihe and elsewhere. The statements I received on the subject differed widely, and in most cases were made hesitatingly, as if my informants were not sure of their ground. My impression is that while Russia is tolerant of devil-worship, or any other worship which is not subversive of the externals of morality, "conformity" is required to obtain for the Korean alien those blessings which belong to naturalisation as a Russian subject.

Preparations being completed for travelling to the Korean frontier, and into Korea as far as Kyöng-heung, a town which a Trade Convention in 1888 opened to the residence of Russian subjects in the hope of creating a market there after the style of Kiachta, I had an interview with Mr. Matunin, the Frontier Commissioner, who gave me a very unpleasant account of insecurity on the frontier owing to the lawlessness of the Chinese troops, and an introduction to the Governor of Kyöng-heung.

A large *tarantass* with three ponies and a driver, a Korean on another pony, and the Korean headman of a neighbouring village, who spoke Russian well, and our saddles, were our modest outfit. The details of the two days' journey to the Tumen are too monotonous for infliction on the reader. The road was infamous, and at times disappeared altogether on a hill-side or in a swamp, and swamps are frequent for the first 40 *versts*. The *tarantass*, always attempting a gallop, bounced, bumped, and thumped, till breathing became a series of gasps.

Occasionally we stuck fast in swampy streams where the ice was broken, being extricated by a tremendous, united, and apparently trained, jump on the part of the ponies, which compelled a strong grip of the vehicle with hands and feet, and would have dislocated any other. Mr. Heidemann smoked cigarettes unceasingly, and made no remarks.

We crossed the head of Possiet Bay and other inlets at a gallop on thin ice, forded several streams in the aforesaid fashion, and passed through severeal Korean coast villages given up to the making of salt by a rude process, the finished product being carted away to Hun-chun in China in baskets of finely-woven reeds. These Chinese carts are drawn by seven mules each, constantly driven at a gallop.

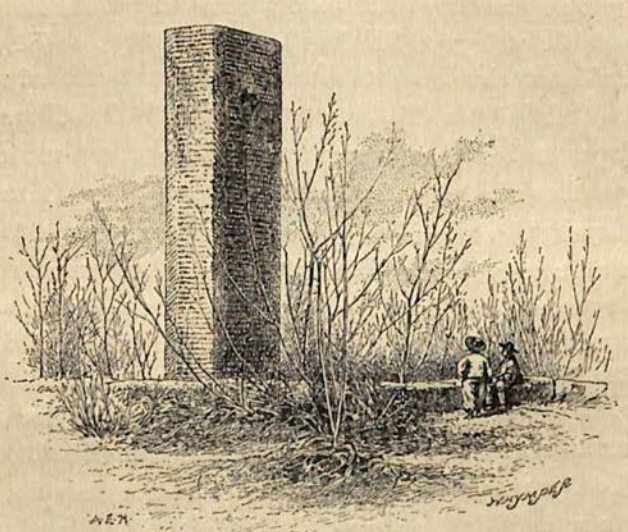
After 30 *versts* the country became very hilly, with rugged mountains in the distance, all without a tree or bush, and covered with coarse and fine grasses mixed up with myriads of withered flower stalks of *Compositæ* and *Umbelliferæ*, and here and there a lonely, belated purple aster shivered in the strong keen wind, which made an atmosphere at zero somewhat hard to face. The valleys are flat and broad, and their rich black soil, the product of ages of decaying vegetation, is absolutely stoneless. Almost all crops can be raised upon it. Besides being a rich agricultural country, the region is well suited for cattle-breeding. There were large herds on the hills, and hay-stacks thickly scattered over the landscape indicated abundance of winter keep. The potato, which flourishes and is free from the disease, is largely cultivated, and is now with the Koreans an article of ordinary diet.

The whole of this fine country is settled by Koreans, for the few hamlets of wretched, tumble-down Chinese houses are of no account. Whether as squatters or purchasers, they are making the best of the land. The number of their domestic animals enables them to fertilise it abundantly; they plough deep, and rotate their crops, and get a splendid yield from their lands. We halted at Saretchje, a village of 120 families, admirably housed, and with all material comforts abounding about them. Out of its 600 inhabitants, 450 have "conformed." The Koreans, having no religion, are apparently not unwilling to secure the possible advantages of conversion, and though none of the Greek priests who conversed with me were enthusiastic about their "consistency," it is at least more satisfactory to see an "*Ecce Homo*" on the wall than the family dæmon.

At distances of 3 and 4 miles there are Korean villages, of which prosperity in greater or less degree is a characteristic. The houses are large and well built, and the farm-yards are well stocked with domestic animals, the people and children are well clothed, and the village lands carefully cultivated.

A long ascent, during which the road, which for some time had been intermittent, gradually disappeared, leads to the summit of a high hill, from which the mountainous frontiers of Russia, China, and Korea are seen to converge. After losing our way and our time, and crossing several ranges of hills without a road, just as the winter sun was setting in a flood of red gold, glorifying the mountains on the Chinese frontier, a turn round a bluff revealed what is geographically and politically a striking view.

The whole of the Russo-Korean frontier, 11 miles in length, and a broad river full of sandbanks, passing through a desert of sandhills to the steely blue ocean, lay crimson in the sunset. On a steep bluff above the river a tall granite slab marks the spot where the Russian and Chinese frontiers meet. Across the Tumen, the barren



BOUNDARY STONE, KRASNOYE CELO.

mountains of Korea loomed purple through a haze of gold. Three empires are seen at a glance. A small and poor Korean village is situated in a valley below. Close to the Boundary Stone, on the high steep bluff above the Tumen, there is a large mud hut from which most of the white-wash had scaled off, with thatch held on by straw ropes weighted with stones.

It was a very lonely scene. A Korean told us that it

was absolutely impossible for us to sleep at the village. A Cossack came out of the hut, took a long look at us, and returned. Then a forlorn-looking corporal appeared, who also took a long look, and having hospitable instincts, came up and told us that the village was impossible except for the drivers and horses, but that he could put us up roughly in the hut, which consisted of one fair-sized room, another very small one, and a lean-to.

The latest English papers had stated that "Russia has lately massed 5000 men on her Korean frontier, and 4000 at Hun-chun." It is not desirable to make any inquiries about the positions and numbers of Russian troops, and I had prudently abstained from asking questions, and had looked forward with interest to seeing a great display of military force. This hut is the military post of Krasnoye Celo, and the "army" of Russia "massed on her Korean frontier" consisted of 15 men and a corporal, the officer being required to endure the isolation of the position for six months, and the privates for one. The roars of laughter which greeted the English statement were not complimentary to newspaper accuracy.

The corporal's small room was of no particular shape, and was furnished with only a deal chair and small table, and a big earthen jar of water, but it was well warmed, and had an iron camp-bed in a recess with a wire-wove mattress, much broken and "sagging," the sharp points of the broken wires sticking up in several places through the one rug with which I attempted to mollify their asperities. This recess, which just contained the bed, was curtained off for me, and the corporal, Mr. Heidemann, and three Korean headmen lay closely packed on the floor. The

corporal, glad to have people to talk with, talked more than half the night, and began again before daybreak. We supped on barrack fare—black bread, barley brose, and tea, with the addition of a little *kwass*, a very slightly fermented drink, made from black bread, raisins, sugar, and a little *vodka*, *schnaps* and *vodka* containing 40 per cent of alcohol. At 9 P.M. I was surprised and delighted with the noble strains of a Greek Litany, chanted in well-balanced parts from the barrack-room, the evening worship of the Cossacks.

My last sunset view of the Tumen was of a sheet of ice. The headmen of the Korean villages of Sajorni and Krasnoe, who were in council till near midnight, thought it was impossible to get across, and they said that the ferry-boat was drawn ashore and was frozen in for the winter, and that two Russian Commissioners and a General, after waiting for three days, had left the day before, having failed. However, yielding to my urgency, they set all the able-bodied men of Sajorni to work at 2 A.M. to dig the boat out, and by 7 she had moved some yards towards the river, which, however, was still a sheet of ice. Later, the corporal sent 14 of his men to help the Koreans, laughingly saying that I had the "whole Russian frontier army to get me across." At 9 word came that the boat was nearly afloat, and we started, on horseback, with two baggage ponies, and rode a mile over the hills and through the prosperous Korean village of Sajorni, down to a dazzling expanse of sand through which the Tumen flows to the sea, there 10 miles off.

The river ice was breaking up into large masses under the morning sun, and between Russia and Korea there

was much open water about 600 feet broad. The experts said if we could get over at all it would be between noon and 2, after which the ice would pack and freeze together again. Koreans and Cossacks worked with a will, breaking the ice, digging under the boat, and moving her with levers, but it was noon before the unwieldy craft, used for the ferriage of oxen, moved into the water, accompanied by a hearty cheer. She leaked badly, two men were required to bale her, and the stern platform, by which animals enter her, was carried away. The baggage was carried in by men wading much over their knees, and then came the turn of the ponies, but not the whole Russian army by force or persuasion could get those wretched animals embarked.

After a whole hour's work and any amount of kicking, plunging, and injuries, from getting one or two legs over the bulwarks, and struggling back, and rolling backwards into the river, two were apparently safe in the ferry-boat, when suddenly they knocked over the man who held them and jumped into the water, one blind animal being rescued with difficulty, and the other cutting his legs considerably. The ice was then fast forming, but the soldiers made one more attempt, which failed, owing to what Americans would not inaptly call the "cussedness" of the Siberian ponies. For the first time on any journey I had to confess myself baffled, for it was impossible to swim the contumacious animals across, owing to the heavy ice-floes and the low temperature of the water. I had sat on my pony watching these proceedings for nearly four hours, watching too the grand Korean mountains as they swept down to the icy river in every shade of cobalt blue, varied by

indigo shadows of the white cloud masses which sailed slowly across the heavenly sky. At that point from which I most reluctantly turned back, the Tumen has a large volume of water, but above and below sandbanks render the navigation so difficult that it is only in the rainy season that flat-bottomed boats make the attempt, and not always with success, to reach the Korean town of K'wan, 80 *versts*, or something over 50 miles, above Krasnoye Celo. The Chinese, in the insane notion that Japan was about to land a large force on the south bank of the Tumen, had seized all the boats above the Russian post.

I photographed the "Russian army" and the barracks, as well as the Boundary Stone, and the corporal slouching against the scaly forlorn quarters on the desolate height in an attitude of extreme dejection, as we drove away leaving him to his usual dulness.

The days of the return journey gave me a good opportunity of learning something of the condition of the Koreans under another Government than their own. So long ago as 1863, 13 families from Ham-gyŏng Do crossed the frontier and settled on the river Tyzen Ho, a little to the north of Possiet Bay. By 1866 there were 100 families there, very poor, among which the Russian Government distributed cattle and seed for cultivation.

During 1869, a year of very great scarcity in Northern Korea, 4500 Koreans migrated, hunger-driven, into Primorsk, some 3800 of them being absolutely destitute. These had to be supported, no easy thing, as the territory, only ceded to Russia a few years before, was but a thinly-peopled wilderness, and was also suffering from a bad harvest.

RUSSIAN "ARMY," KRASNOYE CELO.

In 1897 there were in Primorsk 32 village districts, *i.e.* villages with outlying hamlets, divided into 5 administrative districts. Besides these, one village belongs to the city of Khabaroffka on the Amur, and there are large Korean settlements adjacent to Wladivostok and Nikolskye. The total number of Korean immigrants is estimated at from 16,000 to 18,000. It must be remembered that several thousands of these were literally paupers, and that they subsisted for nearly a year on the charity of the Russian authorities, and after that were indebted to them for seed corn. They settled on the rich lands of the Siberian valleys mostly as squatters, but have been unmolested for many years. Many have purchased the farms they occupy, and in other cases villages have acquired community rights to their adjacent lands. It is the intention of Government that squatting shall gradually be replaced by purchase, the purchasers receiving legal title-deeds.

These alien settlers practically enjoy autonomy. At the head of each district is an Elder or Headman, with from one to three assistants according to its size. The police and their officers are Korean. In each district there are two or three judges with their clerks, who try minor offences. The headmen, who are responsible for order and the collection of taxes, are paid salaries, or receive various allowances. All these officials are Koreans, and are elected by the people themselves from among themselves. The Government taxation is 10 roubles (about £1) on each farm per annum. The local taxation, settled by the villagers in council for their own purposes, such as roads, ditches, bridges, and schools, is limited to 3 roubles

per farm per annum. Men who are not landholders pay from 1 to 2 roubles per annum.

Koreans settled in Siberia prior to 1884 can claim rights as Russian subjects, and at this time those who can prove that they have been settled on purchased lands for ten years can do so, as well as certain others, well reported of as being of settled lives and good conduct. Owing to the steady influx of settlers from Southern Russia, the rich lands near the railroad are required for colonisation, and further immigration from Korea has been prohibited. The sending of Koreans who are either squatters or of unsettled lives to the Amur Province is under discussion.

The villages between Krasnoye Celo and Nowo Kiewsk are fair average specimens of Russo-Korean settlements. The roads are fairly good, and the ditches which border them well kept. Sanitary rules are strictly enforced, the headman being made responsible for village cleanliness. Unlike the poor, ragged, filthy villages of the peninsula, these are well built in Korean style, of whitewashed mud and laths, trimly thatched, the compounds or farm-yards are enclosed by whitewashed walls, or high fences of neatly-woven reeds, and look as if they were swept every morning, and the farm buildings are substantial and well kept. Even the pig-sties testify to the Argus eyes of the district chiefs of police.

Most of the dwellings have four, five, and even six rooms, with papered walls and ceilings, fretwork doors and windows, "glazed" with white translucent paper, finely-matted floors, and an amount of plenishings rarely to be found even in a mandarin's house in Korea. Cabinets, bureaus, and rice chests of ornamental wood with handsome

brass decorations, low tables, stools, cushions, brass samovars, dressers displaying brass dinner services, brass bowls, china, tea-glasses, brass candlesticks, brass kerosene lamps, and a host of other things, illustrate the capacity to secure comfort. Pictures of the Tsar and Tsaritza, of the Christ, and of Greek saints, and framed cards of twelve Christian prayers, replace the coarse daubs of the family dæmons in very many houses. Out of doors full granaries, ponies, mares with foals, black pigs of an improved breed, draught oxen, and fat oxen for the Wladivostok market, with ox-carts and agricultural implements, attest solid material prosperity. It would be impossible for a traveller to meet with more cordial hospitality and more cleanly and comfortable accommodation than I did in these Korean homes.

But there is more than this. The air of the men has undergone a subtle but real change, and the women, though they nominally keep up their habit of seclusion, have lost the hang-dog air which distinguishes them at home. The suspiciousness and indolent conceit, and the servility to his betters, which characterise the home-bred Korean, have very generally given place to an independence and manliness of manner rather British than Asiatic The alacrity of movement is a change also, and has replaced the conceited swing of the *yang-ban* and the heartless lounge of the peasant. There are many chances for making money, and there is neither mandarin nor *yang-ban* to squeeze it out of the people when made, and comforts and a certain appearance of wealth no longer attract the rapacious attentions of officials, but are rather a credit to a man than a source of insecurity. All who work can

be comfortable, and many of the farmers are rich and engage in trade, making and keeping extensive contracts.

Those Koreans who are not settled on lands, chiefly in the direction of the Chinese frontier, and who subsist by wood cutting and hauling, are less well off, and their hamlets have something of squalor about them.

In Korea I had learned to think of Koreans as the dregs of a race, and to regard their condition as hopeless, but in Primorsk I saw reason for considerably modifying my opinion. It must be borne in mind that these people, who have raised themselves into a prosperous farming class, and who get an excellent character for industry and good conduct alike from Russian police officials, Russian settlers, and military officers, were not exceptionally industrious and thrifty men. They were mostly starving folk who fled from famine, and their prosperity and general demeanour give me the hope that their countrymen in Korea, if they ever have an honest administration and protection for their earnings, may slowly develop into *men*.

In parts of Western Asia I have had occasion to note the success of Russian administration in conquered or acquired provinces, and with subject races, specially her creation of an orderly, peaceful, and settled agricultural population out of the nomadic and predatory tribes of Turkestan. Her success with the Korean immigrants is in its way as remarkable, for the material is inferior. She is firm where firmness is necessary, but outside that limit allows extreme latitude, avoids harassing aliens by petty prohibitions and irksome rules, encourages those forms of local self-government which suit the genius and habits of different peoples, and trusts to time, education, and contact

RUSSIAN OFFICERS, HUN-CHUN.

with other forms of civilisation to amend what is reprehensible in customs, religion, and costume.

A few days later I went to Hun-chun on the frontier of Chinese Manchuria, from its position an important military post, and was most hospitably received by the Commandant and his married *aide-de-camp*. There, as everywhere in Primorsk, and from the civil as well as the military authorities, I not only received the utmost kindness, courtesy, and hospitality, but information was frankly given on the various topics I was interested in, and help towards the attainment of my objects. Hun-chun is in the midst of mountainous country, denuded of wood in recent years, and abounding in rich, well-watered valleys inhabited only by Koreans. A wilder, drearier, and more wind-swept situation it would be hard to find.

Instead of "4000 troops" there were only 200 Cossacks, housed in a good brick barrack, one-half of which is a much-decorated chapel, besides which there are only open thatched sheds for their hardy, active Baikal horses, a small, well-arranged hospital, a wooden house for the Colonel Commandant, and some terra-cotta mud houses for the officers and married troopers. The whole Russian military force from Hun-chun to the Amur consisted of 1500 Cossacks, distributed among thirty frontier posts. The Commandant told me that their chief duty at that time was the "daily" arresting of Chinese brigands who crossed the frontier to harry the Korean villages, and who, on being marched back and handed over to the mandarins, were at once liberated to repeat their forays.

The Chinese had "massed" several thousand of their Manchu troops at Hun-chun, and they had created such a

reign of terror that the peasant farmers had deserted their homes over a large area of country. The soldiers, robbed by their officers of their nominal pay, and only half fed, relied on unlimited pillage for making up the deficiency, and neither women nor property were safe from their brutality and violence. So desperately undisciplined were they, that only a few days before the Secretary and Interpreter of the Russian frontier Commissioner at Nowo Kiewsk, visiting Hun-chun on official business, narrowly escaped actual violence at their hands, and the Chinese Governor told them that he had no control at all over the troops. It was only the rigid discipline of the Cossacks which prevented scrimmages which might have produced a serious conflagration.

CHAPTER XX

A NEW EMPIRE

AFTER returning to Wladivostok, accompanied by a young Danish gentleman who was kindly lent to me by Messrs. Kuntz and Albers, and who spoke English and Russian, I spent a week on the Ussuri Railway, the eastern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway, going as far as the hamlet of Ussuri on the Ussuri River at the great Ussuri Bridge, beyond which the line, though completed for 50 *versts*, was not open for traffic. Indeed, up to that point from Nikolskoye trains were run twice daily rather to "settle the line" than for profit, and their average speed was only twelve miles an hour. The weather was brilliant, varied by a heavy snowstorm.

The present Tsar is understood to be enthusiastic about this railroad. During his visit to Wladivostok in 1891, when Tsarevitch, he inaugurated the undertaking by wheeling away the first barrowful of earth and placing the first stone in position, after which, work was begun simultaneously at both ends.

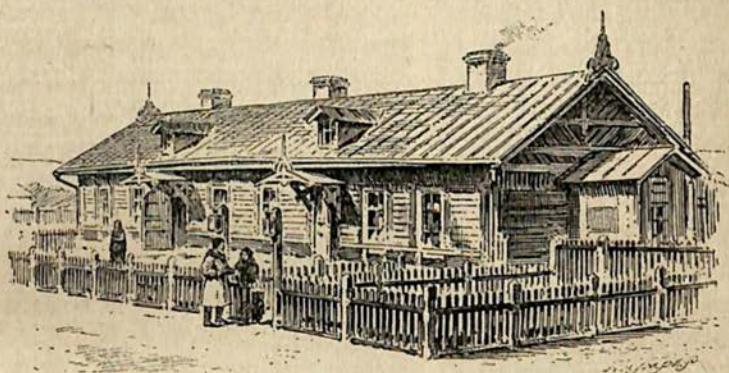
The eastern terminus of this great railroad undertaking is close to the sea and the Government deep-water pier

at which the fine steamers from Odessa of the Russian "Volunteer Fleet" discharge their cargoes. The station is large and very handsome, and both it and the noble administrative offices are built of gray stone, with the architraves of the doors and windows in red brick. Buffets and all else were in efficient working order. In the winter of 1895-96 only third and fourth class cars were running, the latter chiefly patronised by Koreans and Chinese. Each third class carriage is divided into three compartments with a corridor, and has a lavatory and steam-heating apparatus. The backs of the seats are hooked up to form upper berths for sleeping, and as the cars are eight feet high they admit of broad luggage shelves above these. The engines which ran the traffic were old American locomotives, but those which are to be introduced, as well as all the rolling stock, are being manufactured in the Baltic provinces. So also are the rails, the iron and steel bridges, the water tanks, the iron work required for stations, and all else.

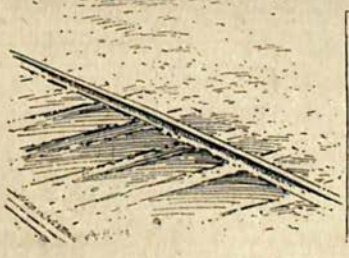
Large railway workshops with rows of substantial houses for artisans have been erected at Nikolskoye, 102 *versts* from Wladivostok, for the repairs of rolling stock on the Ussuri section, and were already in full activity.

There is nothing about this Ussuri Railway of the newness and provisional aspect of the Western American lines, or even of parts of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The track was already ballasted as far as Ussuri (327 *versts*), steel bridges spanned the minor streams, and substantial stations either of stone or decorated wood, with buffets at fixed distances, successfully compare both in stability and appearance with those of our English branch

lines. The tank houses are of hewn stone. Houses for the employés, standing in neatly-fenced gardens, are both decorative and substantial, being built of cement and logs protected by five coats of paint, and contain four rooms each. The crossings are well laid and protected. Culverts



EMPLOYÉS' HOUSES, SIBERIAN RAILROAD.



and retaining-walls are of solid masonry, and telegraph wires accompany the road, which is worked strictly on the block system. The aspect of solidity and permanence is remarkable. Even the temporary bridge over the Ussuri, 1050 feet in length, a trestle bridge of heavy timber to resist the impact of the ice, is so massive as to make the great steel bridge, the handsome abutments of which were already built, appear as if it would be a work of supererogation.

Up to that point there are no serious embankments or cuttings, and the gradients are easy. The cost of con-

struction of the Ussuri section is 50,000 roubles per *verst*, a rouble at this time being worth about 2s. 2d. This includes rolling stock, stations, and all bridges except that over the Amur, which was to cost 3,000,000 roubles, but may now be dispensed with owing to the diversion of the route through Manchuria. Convict labour was abandoned in 1894, and the line in Primorsk is being constructed by Chinese "navvies," who earn about 80 cents per day, and who were bearing the rigour of a Siberian winter in well-warmed, semi-subterranean huts, the line being pushed on as much as possible during the cold season. For the first 102 *versts*, it passes along prettily-wooded shores of inlets and banks of streams, and the country is fairly well peopled, judging from the number of sleighs and the bustle at the six stations *en route*. The line as far as Nikolskoye was opened in early November 1893, and in a year had earned 280,000 roubles. The last section had only been open for eight weeks when I travelled upon it.

Nikolskoye, where I spent two pleasant days at the hospitable establishment of Messrs. Kuntz and Albers, is the only place between Wladivostok and Ussuri of any present importance. It is a *village* of 8000 inhabitants on a rich rolling prairie, watered by the Siphun. It has six streets of grotesque width, a *verst* and a half long each. There is no poverty. It is a place of rapid growth and prosperity, the centre of a great trade in grain, and has a large flour-mill owned by Mr. Lindholm, a Government contractor. It has a spacious market-place and bazaar, and two churches. It reminds me of parts of Salt Lake City, and the houses are of wood, plastered and whitewashed, with corrugated iron roofs mainly. A few are thatched.

RUSSIAN SETTLER'S HOUSE.

All stand in plots of garden ground. Utilitarianism is supreme. I drove for 20 miles in the region round the settlement, and everywhere saw prosperous farms and farming villages on the prairie, Russian and Korean, and found the settlers kindly and hospitable, and surrounded by material comfort. Nikolskoye is a great military station. There were infantry and artillery to the number of 9000, and there, as elsewhere, large new barracks were being pushed to completion. An area of 50 acres was covered with brick barracks, magazines, stables, drill and parade grounds, and officers' quarters, and the military club is a really fine building. Newness, progress, and confidence in the future are as characteristic of Nikolskoye as of any rising town in the Far West of America.

The farther journey, occupying the greater part of two days and a night, except when near the swamps of the Hanka Lake, is through a superb farming region. Large villages with windmills are met with along the line for the first 30 *versts*, as far as the buffet station of Spasskoje. The stoneless soil, a rich loam 6 feet and more in depth, produces heavy crops of oats, wheat, barley, maize, rye, potatoes, and tobacco. Beyond Spasskoje and east of the Hanka Lake up to the Amur a magnificent region waits to be peopled.

Well may Eastern Siberia receive the name of Russia's "Pacific Empire," including as it does the Amur and Maritime provinces, with their area of 880,000 square miles,[1] rich in gold, copper, iron, lead, and coal, and with a soil which for a vast extent is of unbounded fer-

[1] The area of France is 204,000, and that of the British Isles 120,000 square miles.

tility. When China ceded to Russia in 1860 the region which we call Russian Manchuria, she probably did so in ignorance of its vast agricultural capacities and mineral wealth.

The noble Amur, with its forest-covered shores, is navigable for 1000 miles, and already 50 merchant steamers ply upon it, and its great tributary the Ussuri can be navigated to within 120 miles of Wladivostok. The great basin of the Ussuri, it is estimated, could support five million people, and from Khabaroffka to the Tumen, it is considered by experts that the land could sustain from 20 to 40 to the square mile, while at present the population of the Amur and Ussuri provinces is only $\frac{4}{5}$ths of a man to the square mile!

Grass, timber, water, coal, minerals, a soil as rich as the prairies of Illinois, and a climate not only favourable to agriculture but to human health, all await the settler, and the broad, unoccupied, and fertile lands which Russian Manchuria offers are clamouring for inhabitants. To set against these advantages there are the frozen waterways and the ice-bound harbour. It is utterly impossible that an increasing population will content itself without an outlet for its produce. A port on the Pacific open all the year is fast becoming as much a commercial as a political necessity, and doubtless the opening of the Trans-Siberian Railroad four years hence will settle the question (if it has not been settled before) and doom the policy which has shut Russia up in regions of "thick-ribbed ice" to utter extinction.

In the Maritime Province, Russia is steadily and solidly laying the foundations of a new empire which she purposes

to make as nearly as possible a homogeneous one. "No foreigner need apply"! The emigrants, who are going out at the rate of from 700 to 1000 families a year, are of a good class. Emigration is fostered in two ways. By the first, the Government grants assisted passages to heads of families who are possessed of 600 roubles (about £60 at present), which are deposited with a Government official at Odessa, and are repaid to the emigrant on landing at Wladivostok. The industry and thrift represented by this sum indicate a large proportion of the best class of settlers. Under the second arrangement, families possessed of little capital or none receive free passages. On arriving, emigrants of both classes are lodged in excellent emigrant barracks, and can buy the necessary agricultural implements at cost price from a Government depôt, advice as to the purchase being thrown in. Each family receives a free allotment of from 200 to 300 acres of arable land, and a loan of 600 roubles, to be repaid without interest in thirty-two years, the young male colonists being exempted from military service for the same period. Already much of the land along the line as far as the Ussuri has been allotted, and houses are rapidly springing up, and there is nothing to prevent this fine country from being peopled up to the Amur, the rivers Sungacha and Ussuri, which form the boundary of Russia from the Hanka Lake to Khabaroffka, giving a natural protection from Chinese brigandage. In addition to direct emigration, large numbers of time-expired men, chiefly Cossacks, are encouraged to settle on lands and do so.

It would be short-sighted to minimise the importance of the present drift of population to Eastern Siberia, which

is likely to assume immense proportions on the opening of the railway, or the commercial value of that colossal undertaking, which is greatly enhanced by the treaty under which Russia has taken powers to run the Trans-Siberian line through Chinese Manchuria. The creation of a new route which will bring the Far East within 6000 miles and 16 days of London, and cheapen the cost of the transit of passengers very considerably, cannot be overlooked either. The railroad is being built for futurity, and is an enterprise worthy of the great nation which undertakes it.[1]

[1] I am very glad to be able to fortify my opinion of the solid and careful construction of this line by that of Colonel Waters, military attaché to the British Embassy at St. Petersburg, who has recently crossed Siberia, and desires to give emphatic testimony to "the magnificent character of the great railway crossing Siberia," as well as by that of another recent traveller, Mr. J. Y. Simpson, who, in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January 1897, in an article "The Great Siberian Iron Road," after a long description of the laborious carefulness with which the line is being built, writes thus: "Lastly, one is impressed with the *extremely finished* nature of the work."

CHAPTER XXI

THE KING'S OATH—THE KING AND QUEEN

LEAVING Wladivostok by the last Japanese steamer of the season, I spent two days at Wön-san, little changed, except that its background of mountains was snow-covered, that the Koreans were enriched by the extravagant sums paid for labour by the Japanese during the war, that business was active, and that Japanese sentries in wooden sentry-boxes guarded the peaceful streets. Twelve thousand Japanese troops had passed through Wön-san on their way to Phyöng-yang. At Fusan, my next point, there were 200 Japanese soldiers, new waterworks, and a military cemetery on a height, in which the number of graves showed an enormous Japanese mortality.

Reaching Chemulpo on 5th January 1895, *vid* Nagasaki, I found a singular contrast to the crowd, bustle, and excitement of the previous June. In the outer harbour there were two foreign warships only, in the inner three Japanese merchant steamers. The former predominant military element was represented by a few soldiers, ten large hospital sheds, and a crowded cemetery, in which the Japanese military dead lie in rows of 60, each grave

marked by a wooden obelisk. The solid and crowded Chinese quarter, with its roaring trade, large shops, and noise of drums, gongs, and crackers, by day and night, was silent and deserted, and not a single Chinese was in the street as I went up to I-tai's inn. One shop had ventured to reopen. At night, instead of throngs, noise, lights, and jollification, there was a solitary glimmer from behind a closed shutter. The Japanese occupation had been as destructive of that quarter of Chemulpo as a mediæval pestilence.

In the Japanese quarter and all along the shore the utmost activity prevailed. The beach was stacked with incoming and outgoing cargo. The streets were only just passable, not alone from the enormous traffic on bulls' and coolies' backs, but from the piles of beans and rice which were being measured and packed on the roadway. Prices were high, wages had more than doubled, "squeezing" was diminished, and the Koreans were working with a will.

I went up to Seoul on horseback, snow falling the whole time. So safe was the country that no escort was needed, and I rode as far as Oricol without even a *mapu*. The half-way house of my first visit was a Japanese post, and going to it in ignorance of the change, I was very kindly received by the Japanese soldiers, who gave me tea and a brazier of charcoal. The Seoul road, pegged out by Japanese surveyors for a railroad, was thickly sprinkled for the whole distance with laden men and bulls.

At Seoul I was the guest of Mr. Hillier, the British Consul-General, for five weeks. The weather was glorious, and the mercury sank on two occasions to 7° below zero, the lowest temperature on record. I received the warmest

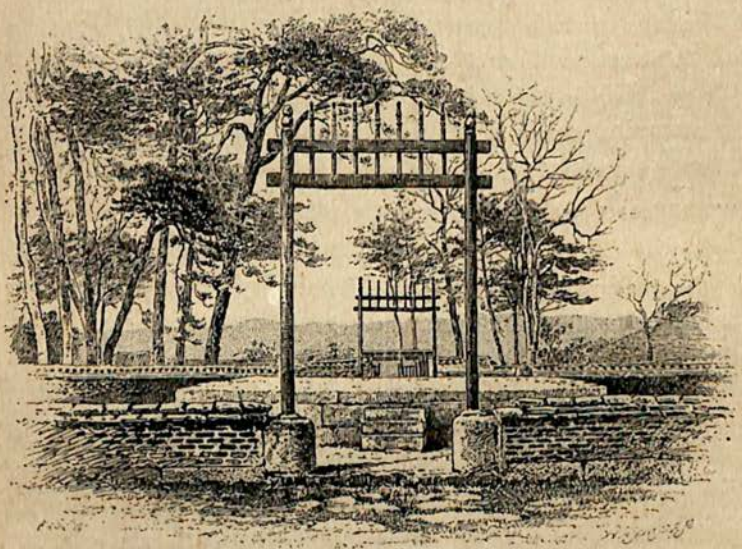
welcome from the kindly foreign community, and was steeped in Seoul life, the political and other interests growing upon me daily; and having a pony and a soldier at my disposal, I saw the city in all its turnings and windings, and the charming country outside the gates, and several of the Royal tombs with their fine trees, and avenues of stately stone figures.

The stagnation of the previous winter was at an end. Japan was in the ascendant. She had a large garrison in the capital, some of the leading men in the Cabinet were her nominees, her officers were drilling the Korean army, changes, if not improvements, were everywhere, and the air was thick with rumours of more to come. The King, whose Royal authority was nominally restored to him, accepted the situation, the Queen was credited with intriguing against the Japanese, but Count Inouye was acting as Japanese minister, and his firmness and tact kept everything smooth on the surface.

On the 8th of January 1895 I witnessed a singular ceremony, which may have far-reaching results in Korean history. The Japanese, having presented Korea with the gift of Independence, demanded that the King should formally and publicly renounce the suzerainty of China, and having resolved to cleanse the Augean stable of official corruption, they compelled him to inaugurate the task by proceeding in semi-state to the Altar of the Spirits of the Land, and there proclaiming Korean independence, and swearing before the spirits of his ancestors to the proposed reforms. His Majesty, by exaggerating a trivial ailment, had for some time delayed a step which was very repulsive to him, and even the day before the ceremony, a

dream in which an Ancestral Spirit had appeared to him adjuring him not to depart from ancestral ways, terrified him from taking the proposed pledge.

But the spirit of Count Inouye proved more masterful than the Ancestral Spirit, and the oath was taken in



ALTAR OF THE SPIRITS OF THE LAND.

circumstances of great solemnity in a dark pine wood, under the shadow of Puk Han, at the most sacred altar in Korea, in presence of the Court and the dignitaries of the kingdom. Old and serious men had fasted and mourned for two previous days, and in the vast crowd of white-robed and black-hatted men which looked down upon the striking scene from a hill in the grounds of the Mulberry Palace, there was not a smile or a spoken word. The sky

was dark and grim, and a bitter east wind was blowing—ominous signs in Korean estimation.

The Royal procession, which had something of the aspect of the *kur-dong*, was shorn of the barbaric splendour which made that ceremonial one of the most imposing in the Eastern world. It was, in fact, barbaric with the splendour left out; and there were suggestions of a new era and a forthcoming swamping wave of Western civilisation, in the presence within the Palace gates and in the procession of a few trim, dapper, blue-ulstered Japanese policemen, as the special protectors of the Home Minister Pak-Yŏng-Ho, one of the revolutionaries of 1884, against whom there was a vow of vengeance, though the King had been compelled to pardon him, to reinstate his ancestors who had been degraded, to recall him from exile, and to confer upon him high office.

The long road outside the Palace was lined with Korean cavalry, who turned their faces to the wall and their backs and their ponies' tails to the King. Great numbers of Korean soldiers carrying various makes of muskets, dressed in rusty black, brown, and blue cotton uniforms, trousers sometimes a foot too short, at others a foot too long, white wadded socks, string shoes, and black felt hats of Tyrolese style, with pink ribbon round the crowns, stood in awkward huddles, mixed up with the newly-created Seoul police in blue European uniforms, and a number of handsome over-fed ponies of Court officials, with saddles over a foot high, gorgeous barbaric trappings, red pompons on their heads, and a flow of red manes. The populace stood without speech or movement.

After a long delay and much speculation as to whether

the King at the last moment would resist the foreign pressure, the procession emerged from the Palace gate—huge flags on trident-headed poles, purple bundles carried aloft, a stand of stones conveyed with much ceremony[1] —groups of scarlet- and blue-robed men in hats of the same colours, shaped like fools' caps, the King's personal servants in yellow robes and yellow bamboo hats, and men carrying bannerets. Then came the red silk umbrella, followed not by the magnificent State chair with its forty bearers, but by a plain wooden chair with glass sides, in which sat the sovereign, pale and dejected, borne by only four men. The Crown Prince followed in a similar chair. Mandarins, ministers, and military officers were then assisted to mount their caparisoned ponies, and each, with two attendants holding his stirrups and two more leading his pony, fell in behind the Home Minister, riding a dark donkey, and rendered conspicuous by his foreign saddle and foreign guard. When the procession reached the sacred enclosure, the military escort and the greater part of the cavalcade remained outside the wall, only the King, dignitaries, and principal attendants proceeding to the altar. The grouping of the scarlet-robed men under the dark pines was most effective from an artistic point of view, and from a political standpoint the taking of the following oath by the Korean King was one of the most significant acts in the tedious drama of the late war.

[1] These are ancient musical instruments called by the Chinese *ch'ing*, and were in use at courts in the days of Confucius.

THE KING'S OATH

On this 12th day of the 12th moon of the 503rd year of the founding of the Dynasty, we presume to announce clearly to the Spirits of all our Sacred Imperial Ancestors that we, their lowly descendant, received in early childhood, now thirty and one years ago, the mighty heritage of our ancestors, and that in reverent awe towards Heaven, and following in the rule and pattern of our ancestors, we, though we have encountered many troubles, have not loosed hold of the thread. How dare we, your lowly descendant, aver that we are acceptable to the heart of Heaven? It is only that our ancestors have graciously looked down upon us and benignly protected us. Splendidly did our ancestor lay the foundation of our Royal House, opening a way for us his descendants through five hundred years and three. Now, in our generation, the times are mightily changed, and men and matters are expanding. A friendly Power, designing to prove faithful, and the deliberations of our Council aiding thereto, show that only as an independent ruler can we make our country strong. How can we, your lowly descendant, not conform to the spirit of the time and thus guard the domain bequeathed by our ancestors? How venture not to strenuously exert ourselves and stiffen and anneal us in order to add lustre to the virtues of our predecessors? For all time from now no other State will we lean upon, but will make broad the steps of our country towards prosperity, building up the happiness of our people in order to strengthen the foundations of our independence. When we ponder on this course, let there be no sticking in the old ways, no practice of ease or of dalliance; but docilely let us carry out the great designs of our ancestors, watching and observing sublunary conditions, reforming our internal administration, remedying there accumulated abuses.

We, your lowly descendant, do now take the fourteen clauses of the Great Charter and swear before the Spirits of our Ancestors in Heaven that we, reverently trusting in the merits bequeathed by our ancestors, will bring these to a successful issue, nor will we dare to go back on our word. Do you, bright Spirits, descend and behold!

1. All thoughts of dependence on China shall be cut away, and a firm foundation for independence secured.

2. A rule and ordinance for the Royal House shall be established, in order to make clear the line of succession and precedence among the Royal family.

3. The King shall attend at the Great Hall for the inspection of affairs, where, after personally interrogating his Ministers, he shall decide upon matters of State. The Queen and the Royal family are not allowed to interfere.

4. Palace matters and the government of the country must be kept separate, and may not be mixed up together.

5. The duties and powers of the Cabinet and of the various Ministers shall be clearly defined.

6. The payment of taxes by the people shall be regulated by law. Wrongful additions may not be made to the list, and no excess collected.

7. The assessment and collection of the land tax, and the disbursement of expenditure, shall be under the charge and control of the Finance Department.

8. The expenses of the Royal household shall be the first to be reduced, by way of setting an example to the various Ministries and local officials.

9. An estimate shall be drawn up in advance each year of the expenditure of the Royal household and the various official establishments, putting on a firm foundation the management of the revenue.

10. The regulations of the local officers must be revised in order to discriminate the functions of the local officials.

11. Young men of intelligence in the country shall be sent abroad in order to study foreign science and industries.

12. The instruction of army officers, and the practice of the methods of enlistment, to secure the foundation of a military system.

13. Civil law and criminal law must be strictly and clearly laid down; none must be imprisoned or fined in excess, so that security of life and property may be ensured for all alike.

14. Men shall be employed without regard to their origin, and

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in seeking for officials recourse shall be had to capital and country alike in order to widen the avenues for ability.

Official translation of the text of the oath taken by His Majesty the King of Korea, at the Altar of Heaven, Seoul, on January 8, 1895.

Though at this date Korea is being reformed under other than Japanese auspices, it is noteworthy that nearly every step in advance is on the lines laid down by Japan.

Count Inouye is reported by the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* to have said regarding Korea, "In my eyes there were only the Royal Family and the nation." Such a conclusion was legitimate in the early part of 1895, and in arriving at it as I did I am glad to be sheltered by such an unexceptionable authority.

Hence it was with real pleasure that I received an invitation from the Queen to a private audience, to which I was accompanied by Mrs. Underwood, an American medical missionary and the Queen's physician and valued friend. Mr. Hillier sent me to the Kyeng-pok Palace in an eight-bearer official chair, escorted by the Korean Legation Guard. I have been altogether six times at this palace, and always with increased wonder at its intricacy, and admiration of its quaintness and beauty.

Entering by a grand three-arched gateway with its stone-balustraded stone staircase, and stone lions on stone pedestals below, one is bewildered by the number of large flagged courtyards, huge audience-halls, pavilions, buildings of all descriptions more or less decorated, stone bridges, narrow passages, and gateways with double-tiered carved roofs, through and among which one passes. A Japanese policeman was at the grand gate. At each

of the interior gates, and there are many, there were six Korean sentries lounging, who pulled themselves together as we approached and presented arms! What with 800 troops, 1500 attendants and officials of all descriptions, courtiers and ministers and their attendants, secretaries, messengers, and hangers-on, the vast enclosure of the Palace seemed as crowded and populated as the city itself. We had nearly half a mile of buildings to pass through before we reached a very pretty artificial lake with a decorative island pavilion in the centre, near which are a foreign palace, built not long before, and the simple Korean buildings then occupied by the King and Queen. Alighting at the gateway of the courtyard which led to the Queen's house, we were received by the Court interpreter, a number of eunuchs, two of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, and her nurse, who was at the head of the Palace ladies—a very privileged person, middle-aged, with decidedly fine features.

LADY-IN-WAITING.

In a simple room hung with yellow silk we were entertained in courteous fashion with coffee and cake on arriving, and afterwards at dinner, the nurse, "supported" by the Court interpreter, taking the head of the very prettily

decorated table. The dinner was admirably cooked in "foreign style," and included soup, fish, quails, wild duck, pheasant, stuffed and rolled beef, vegetables, creams, glacé walnuts, fruit, claret, and coffee. Several of the Court ladies and others sat at table with us. After this long delay we were ushered, accompanied only by the interpreter, into a small audience-room, upon the dais at one end of which stood the King, the Crown Prince, and the Queen, in front of three crimson velvet chairs, which, after Mrs. Underwood had presented me, they resumed, and asked us to be seated on two chairs which were provided.

Her Majesty, who was then past forty, was a very nice-looking slender woman, with glossy raven-black hair and a very pale skin, the pallor enhanced by the use of pearl powder. The eyes were cold and keen, and the general expression one of brilliant intelligence. She wore a very handsome, very full, and very long skirt of mazarine blue brocade, heavily pleated, with the waist under the arms, and a full-sleeved bodice of crimson and blue brocade, clasped at the throat by a coral rosette, and girdled by six crimson and blue cords, each one clasped with a coral rosette, with a crimson silk tassel hanging from it. Her head-dress was a crownless black silk cap edged with fur, pointed over the brow, with a coral rose and full red tassel in front, and jewelled aigrettes on either side. Her shoes were of the same brocade as her dress. As soon as she began to speak, and specially when she became interested in conversation, her face lighted up into something very like beauty.

The King is short and sallow, certainly a plain man, wearing a thin moustache and a tuft on the chin. He is

nervous and twitches his hands, but his pose and manner

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF KOREA.

are not without dignity. His face is pleasing, and his

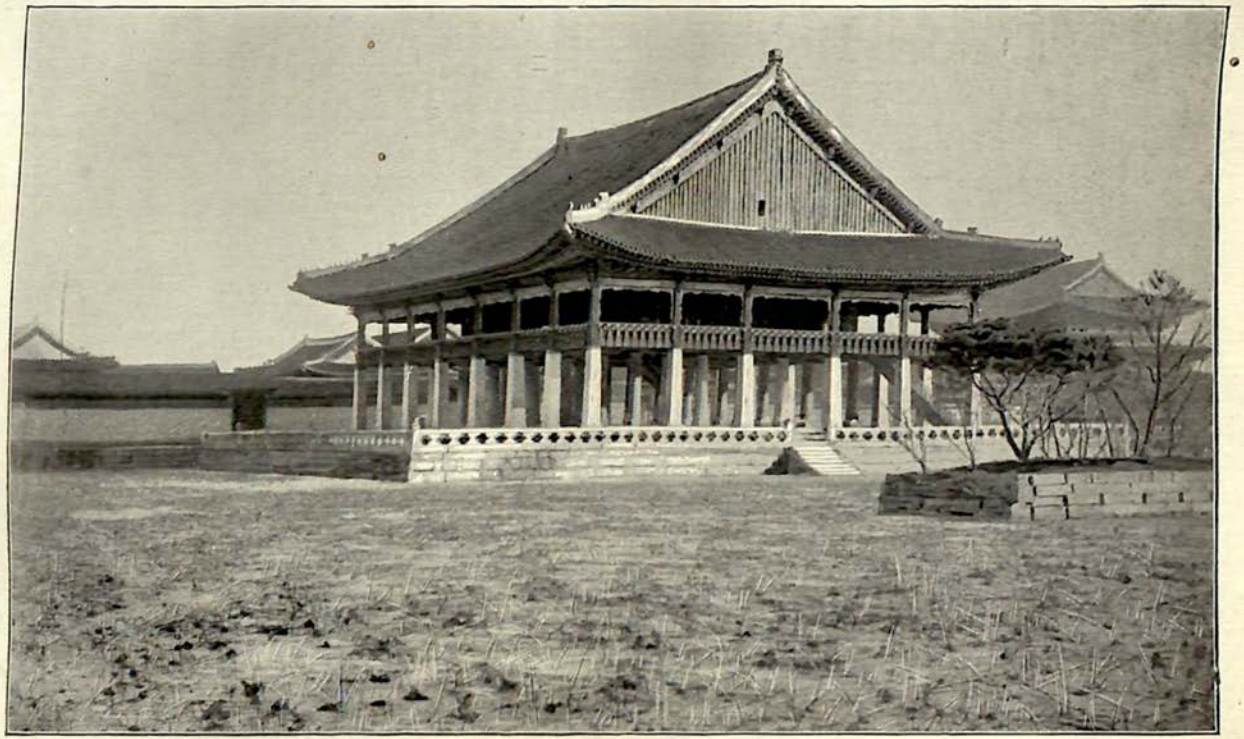
kindliness of nature is well known. In conversation the Queen prompted him a good deal. He and the Crown Prince were dressed alike in white leather shoes, wadded silk socks, and voluminous wadded white trousers. Over these they wore first, white silk tunics, next pale green ones, and over all sleeveless dresses of mazarine blue brocade. The whole costume, being exquisitely fresh, was pleasing. On their heads they wore hats and *mang-kuns* of very fine horsehair gauze, with black silk hoods bordered with fur, for the mercury stood at 5° below zero. The Crown Prince is fat and flabby, and though unfortunately very near-sighted, etiquette forbids him to wear spectacles, and at that time he produced on every one, as on me, the impression of being completely an invalid. He was the only son and the idol of his mother, who lived in ceaseless anxiety about his health, and in dread lest the son of a concubine should be declared heir to the throne. To this cause must be attributed several of her unscrupulous acts, her invoking the continual aid of sorcerers, and her always-increasing benefactions to the Buddhist monks. During much of the audience mother and son sat with clasped hands.

After the Queen had said many kind things to me personally, showing herself quick-witted as well as courteous, she said something to the King, who immediately took up the conversation and continued it for another half-hour. At the close of the audience I asked leave to photograph the Lake Pavilion, and the King said, "Why that alone? come many days and photograph many things," mentioning several; and he added, "I should like you to be suitably attended." We then curtseyed ourselves out,

after a very agreeable and interesting hour, and as it was dusk, the King sent soldiers with us, and a number of lantern-bearers, with floating drapery of red and green silk gauze.

Two days later the "suitable attendance" turned out to be an unwieldy and embarrassing crowd, consisting of five military officers, half a regiment of soldiers, and a number of Palace attendants! I was greatly impressed by a certain grandeur and stateliness in the buildings, the vast Hall of Audience resting on a much-elevated terrace ascended by a triple flight of granite stairs, the noble proportions of the building, the richly-carved ceiling with its manifold reticulations, painted red, blue, and green, the colossal circular pillars, red with white bases, and in the dimness of the vast area fronting the entrance, the shadowy splendour of the Korean throne. Grand, too, in its simplicity and solidity, is the Summer Palace or "Hall of Congratulations," on a stone platform approached by three granite bridges, in a lotus lake of oblong form beautified conventionally with two stone-faced islands, and by a broad flagged promenade carried the whole way round it on a stone-faced embankment. This palace is a noble building. The upper hall, with its vast sweeping roof, is supported on forty-eight granite pillars 16 feet in height and 3 feet square at the base—all monoliths. The situation and the views are beautiful.

During the next three weeks I had three more audiences, on the second being accompanied as before by Mrs. Underwood, the third being a formal reception, and the fourth a strictly private interview, lasting over an hour. On each occasion I was impressed with the grace and



SUMMER PAVILION, OR "HALL OF CONGRATULATIONS."

charming manner of the Queen, her thoughtful kindness, her singular intelligence and force, and her remarkable conversational power even through the medium of an interpreter. I was not surprised at her singular political influence, or her sway over the King and many others. She was surrounded by enemies, chief among them being the Tai-Won-Kun, the King's father, all embittered against her because by her talent and force she had succeeded in placing members of her family in nearly all the chief offices of State. Her life was a battle. She fought with all her charm, shrewdness, and sagacity, for power, for the dignity and safety of her husband and son, and for the downfall of the Tai-Won-Kun. She had cut short many lives, but in doing so she had not violated Korean tradition and custom, and some excuse for her lies in the fact that soon after the King's accession his father sent to the house of Her Majesty's brother an infernal machine in the shape of a beautiful box, which on being opened exploded, killing her mother, brother, and nephew, as well as some others. Since then he plotted against her own life, and the feud between them was usually at fever heat.

The dynasty is worn out, and the King, with all his amiability and kindness of heart, is weak in character and is at the mercy of designing men, as has appeared increasingly since the strong sway of the Queen was withdrawn. I believe him to be at heart, according to his lights, a patriotic sovereign. Far from standing in the way of reform, he has accepted most of the suggestions offered to him. But unfortunately for a man whose edicts become the law of the land, and more unfortunately for the land, he is persuadable by the last person who gets

his ear, he lacks backbone and tenacity of purpose, and many of the best projects of reform become abortive through his weakness of will. To substitute constitutional restraints for absolutism would greatly mend matters, but *cela va sans dire* this could only be successful under foreign initiative.

The King was forty-three, the Queen a little older. During his minority, and while he was receiving the usual Chinese education, his father, the Tai-Won-Kun, who is described by a Korean writer as having "bowels of iron and a heart of stone," ruled as Regent with excessive vigour for ten years, and in 1866 slaughtered 2000 Korean Catholics. Able, rapacious, and unscrupulous, his footsteps have always been blood-stained. He even put to death one of his own sons. From the time when his Regency ceased until the murder of the Queen, Korean political history is mainly the story of the deadly feud between the Queen and her clan and the Tai-Won-Kun. I was presented to him at the Palace, and was much impressed by the vitality and energy of his expression, his keen glance, and the vigour of his movements, though he is an old man.

The King's expression is gentle. He has a wonderful memory, and is said to know Korean history so well that when any question as to fact or former custom arises he can give full particulars, with a precise reference to the reign in which any historic event occurred and to the date. The office of Royal Reader is not a sinecure, and the Royal Library, which is contained in one of the most beautiful buildings of the Kyeng-pok Palace, is a very extensive one in Chinese literature. He has no anti-

foreign feeling. His friendliness to foreigners is marked, and in his manifold perils he has frankly relied upon their aid. At the time of my second visit, when Japan was in the ascendant, the King and Queen showed special attention and kindness to Europeans, and even invited the whole foreign community to a skating party on the lake. The King's attitude towards Christian Missions is very friendly, and toleration is a reality. The American medical attendants of both the King and Queen, as well as other foreigners, with whom they were in constant contact, were warmly attached to them, and I think that the general feeling among Koreans is one of affectionate loyalty, the blame for oppressive and mistaken actions being laid on the ministers.

I have dwelt so long on the King's personality because he is *de facto* the Korean Government, and not a mere figure-head, as there is no constitution, written or unwritten, no representative assembly, and it may be said no law except his published Edicts. He is extremely industrious as a ruler, acquaints himself with all the work of departments, receives and attends to an infinity of reports and memorials, and concerns himself with all that is done in the name of Government. It is often said that in close attention to detail he undertakes more than any one man could perform. At the same time he has not the capacity for getting a general grip of affairs. He has so much goodness of heart and so much sympathy with progressive ideas, that if he had more force of character and intellect, and were less easily swayed by unworthy men, he might make a good sovereign, but his weakness of character is fatal.

The subjects of conversation introduced at three of my audiences not only showed an intelligent desire for such information as might be serviceable, but reflected the reforms which the Japanese were pressing on the King. I was very closely questioned as to what I had seen of China and Siberia, as to the Siberian and Japanese railroads, cost of construction per *li*, as to the popular feeling in Japan concerning the war, etc. Again I was catechised as to the avenues to official employment in England, the possibility of men "not of the noble class" reaching high positions in the Government, the position of the English nobility with regard to "privileges," and their attitude to inferiors. On one day the whole attention of the King and Queen was concentrated on the relations between the English Crown and the Cabinet, specially with regard to the Civil List, on which the King's questions were so numerous and persistent as very nearly to pose me. He was specially anxious to know if the "Finance Minister" (the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I suppose) exercised any control over the personal expenditure of Her Majesty, and if the Queen's personal accounts were paid by herself or through the Treasury. The affairs under the control of each Secretary of State were the subject of another series of questions.

Many queries were about the duties of the Home Minister, the position of the Premier, and his relations with the other Ministers and the Crown. He was very anxious to know if the Queen could dismiss her Ministers if they failed to carry out her wishes, and it was impossible to explain to him through an interpreter, to whom the ideas were unfamiliar, the constitutional checks on the

English Crown, and that the sovereign only nominally possesses the right of choosing her Ministers.

Just before I left Korea, I was summoned to a farewell audience, and asked to take the Legation interpreter with me. I went in an eight-bearer chair, and was received with the usual honours, soldiers presenting arms, etc.! There was no crowd of attendants and no delay. As I was being escorted down a closed verandah by several eunuchs and military officers, a sliding window was opened by the King, who beckoned to me to enter, and then closed it. I found myself in the raised alcove in which the Royal Family usually sat, but the sliding panels between it and the audience-chamber were closed, and as it is not more than 6 feet wide, it was impossible to make the customary profound curtseys. Instead of the usual throng of attendants, eunuchs, ladies-in-waiting in silk gowns a yard too long for them, and heavy coils and pillows of arti-

KOREAN GENTLEMAN IN COURT DRESS.

ficial hair on their heads, and privileged persons standing behind the King and Queen and crowding the many doorways, there were present only the Queen's nurse and my interpreter, who stood at a chink between the panels where he could not see the Queen, bent into an attitude of abject reverence, never lifting his eyes from the ground or raising his voice above a whisper. The precautions, however, failed to secure the privacy which the King and Queen desired. I was certain that through the chink I saw the shadow of a man in the audience-room, and the interpreter's subsequent remark, "It was very hard for me to interpret for His Majesty to-day," was intelligible when I heard that the "shadow" belonged to one of the Ministers of State specially distrusted by the King, and who later had to fly from Korea. It was understood that this person carried the substance of what the King and Queen said to a foreign legation.

I cannot here allude to the matter on which the King spoke, but the audience, which lasted for an hour, was an extremely interesting one. On one point the King expressed himself very strongly, as he has done to many others. He considers that, now that Korea is formally independent of China, she is entitled to a Resident Minister accredited solely to the Korean Court. He expressed great regard and esteem for Mr. Hillier, and said that nothing would be more acceptable to him than his appointment as the first Minister to Korea.

The Queen spoke of Queen Victoria, and said, "She has everything that she can wish—greatness, wealth, and power. Her sons and grandsons are kings and emperors, and her daughters empresses. Does she ever in her glory think of

poor Korea? She does so much good in the world, her life is a good. We wish her long life and prosperity"; to which the King added, "England is our best friend." It was really touching to hear the occupants of that ancient but shaky throne speaking in this fashion.

On this occasion the Queen was dressed in a bodice of brocaded amber satin, a mazarine blue brocaded trained skirt, a crimson girdle with five clasps and tassels of coral, and a coral clasp at the throat. Her head was uncovered, and her abundant black hair gathered into a knot at the back. She wore no ornament except a pearl and coral jewel on the top of the head. The King and Queen rose when I took leave, and the Queen shook hands. They both spoke most kindly, and expressed the wish that I should return and see more of Korea. When I did return nine months later, the Queen had been barbarously murdered, and the King was practically a prisoner in his own palace.

Travellers received by the Korean King have often ridiculed the audience, the surroundings, and the Palace. I must say that I saw nothing to ridicule, unless national customs and etiquette varying from our own are necessarily ridiculous. On the contrary, there were a simplicity, dignity, kindliness, courtesy, and propriety which have left a very agreeable impression on me, and my four audiences at the Palace were the great feature of my second visit to Korea.

CHAPTER XXII

A TRANSITION STAGE—"GREAT FIFTEENTH DAY"

DURING January 1895, Seoul was in a curious condition. The "old order" was changing, but the new had not taken its place. The Japanese, victorious by land and sea, were in a position to enforce the reforms in which before the war they had asked China to co-operate. The King, since the capture of the Palace by the Japanese in July 1894, had become little more than a "salaried automaton," and the once powerful members of the Min clan had been expelled from their offices. The Japanese were prepared to accept the responsibility of the supervision of all departments, and to enforce honesty on a corrupt executive. The victory over the Chinese at Phyöng-yang on 17th September 1894 had set them free to carry out their purposes. Count Inouye, one of the foremost of the statesmen who created the new Japan, arrived as "Resident" on October 20, 1894, and practically administered the Government in the King's name. There were Japanese controllers in all the departments, the army was drilled by Japanese drill instructors, a police force was organised and clothed in badly-fitting Japanese uniforms, a Council of Koreans was

appointed to draft a scheme of reform, and form the nucleus of a possible Korean Parliament, and Count Inouye as Japanese adviser had the right of continual access to the King, and with an interpreter and stenographer sat at the meetings of the Cabinet. Every day Japanese ascendency was apparent in new appointments, regulations, abolitions, and reforms. The Japanese claimed that their purpose was to reform the administration of Korea as we had done that of Egypt, and I believe they would have done it had they been allowed a free hand. It was apparent, however, that Count Inouye found the task of reformation a far harder one than he expected, and that the difficulties in his way were nearly insurmountable. He said himself that there were "no tools to work with," and in the hope of manufacturing them a large number of youths of the upper class were sent for two years to Japan, one year to be spent in education and another in learning accuracy and "the first principles of honour" in certain Government departments.

Sundry Japanese demands, though conceded at the time by the King, had been allowed to drop, and it was not till December 1894 that Count Inouye obtained a formal covenant that five of them should be at once carried out. (1) A full pardon for all the conspirators of 1884; (2) That the Tai-Won-Kun and the Queen should interfere no more in public affairs; (3) That no relatives of the Royal Family should be employed in any official capacity; (4) That the number of eunuchs and "Palace ladies" should at once be reduced to a minimum; (5) That caste distinctions—patrician and plebeian—should no longer be recognised.

Edicts on some of the foregoing subjects appeared in

the *Gazette*, and large numbers of the eunuchs packed up their clothes and left the Palace quietly in the night, along with the "Palace ladies"; but the King in his vast dwelling was so lonely without them that the next morning he sent an order commanding their immediate return under serious penalties, and it was obeyed at once!

The attitude of the Korean official class, with the exception of a small number who were personally interested in the success of Japan, was altogether unfavourable to the new *régime*, and every change was regarded with indignation. Though destitute of true patriotism, the common people looked upon the King as a sacred person, and they were furious at the indignities to which he had been subjected. The official class saw that reform meant the end of "squeezing" and ill-gotten gains, and they, with the whole army of parasites and hangers-on of *Yamens*, were all pledged by the strongest personal interest to oppose it by active opposition or passive resistance. Though corruption has its stronghold in Seoul, every provincial government repeats on a smaller scale the iniquities of the capital, and has its own army of dishonest and lazy officials fattening on the earnings of the industrious classes.

The cleansing of the Augean stable of the Korean official system, which the Japanese had undertaken, was indeed an Herculean labour. Traditions of honour and honesty, if they ever existed, had been forgotten for centuries. Standards of official rectitude were unknown. In Korea when the Japanese undertook the work of reform there were but two classes, the robbers and the robbed, and the robbers included the vast army which constituted officialdom. "Squeezing" and peculation were the rule

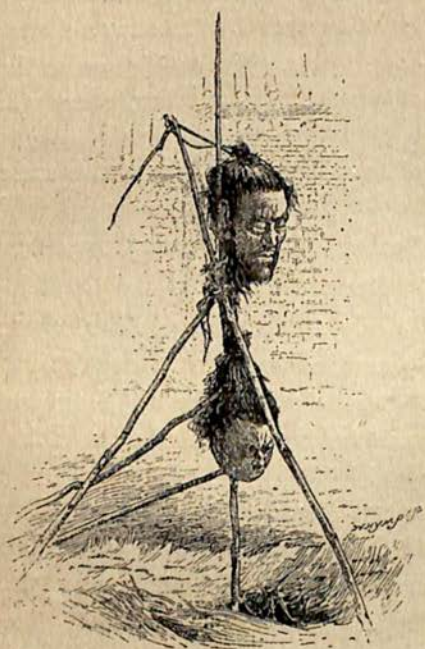
from the highest to the lowest, and every position was bought and sold.

The transition stage, down to 12th February 1895, when I left Korea, was a remarkable one. The *Official Gazette* curiously reflected that singular period. One day a decree abolished the three-feet-long tobacco pipes which were the delight of the Koreans of the capital; another, there was an enlightened statute ordering the planting of pines to remedy the denudation of the hills around Seoul, the same *Gazette* directing that duly-appointed geomancers should find "an auspicious day" on which the King might worship at the ancestral tablets! One day barbarous and brutalising punishments were wisely abolished; another, there appeared a string of vexatious and petty regulations calculated to harass the Chinese out of the kingdom, and appointing as a punishment for the breach of them a fine of 100 dollars or 100 blows!

Failure in tact was one great fault of the Japanese. The seizure of the Palace and the King's person in July 1894, even if a dubious political necessity, did not excuse the indignities to which the sovereign was exposed. The forcing of former conspirators into high office was a grave error, and tactless proceedings, such as the abolition of long pipes, alterations in Court and other dress, many interferences with social customs, and petty and harassing restrictions and regulations, embittered the people against the new *régime*.

The Tong-haks, who had respectfully thrown off allegiance to the King on the ground that he was in the hands of foreigners, and had appointed another sovereign, had been vanquished early in January, and their king's head

had been sent to Seoul by a loyal governor. There I saw it in the busiest part of the Peking Road, a bustling market outside the "little West Gate," hanging from a rude arrangement of three sticks like a camp-kettle stand, with another head below it. Both faces wore a calm, almost dignified, expression. Not far off two more heads had been exposed in a similar frame, but it had given way, and they lay in the dust of the roadway, much gnawed by dogs at the back. The last agony was stiffened on their features. A turnip lay beside them, and some small children cut pieces from it and presented them mockingly to the blackened mouths. This brutalising spectacle had existed for a week.



TONG-HAK HEADS.

Three days later, in the stillness of the Korean New Year's Day, I rode with a friend along a lonely road passing through a fair agricultural valley among pine-clothed knolls outside the South and East Gates of Seoul. Snow lay on the ground and the grim sky threatened a further

storm. It was cold, and we observed with surprise three coolies in summer cotton clothing lying by the roadside asleep; but it was the last sleep, for on approaching them we found that, though their attitudes were those of easy repose, the bodies were without heads, nor had the headsman's axe been merciful or sharp. In the middle of the road were great, frozen, crimson splashes where the Tonghak leaders had expiated their treason, criminals in Korea, as in old Jerusalem, suffering "without the gate."

A few days later an order appeared in the *Gazette* abolishing beheading and "slicing to death," and substituting death by strangulation for civil, and by shooting for military capital crimes. This order practically made an end of the prerogative of life and death heretofore possessed by the Korean sovereigns.

So the "old order" was daily changing under the pressure of the Japanese advisers, and on the whole changing most decidedly for the better, though, owing to the number of reforms decreed and in contemplation, everything was in a tentative and chaotic state. Korea was "swithering" between China and Japan, afraid to go in heartily for the reforms initiated by Japan lest China should regain position and be "down" upon her, and afraid to oppose them actively lest Japan should be permanently successful.

On that same New Year's Day there was more to be seen than headless trunks. Through the length of Seoul, towards twilight, an odour of burning hair overpowered the aromatic scent of the pine brush, and all down every street, outside every door, there were red glimmers of light. It is the custom in every family on that day to

carry out the carefully-preserved clippings and combings of the family hair and burn them in potsherds, a practice which it is hoped will prevent the entrance of certain dæmons into the house during the year. Rude straw dolls stuffed with a few *cash* were also thrown into the street. This effigy is believed to take away troubles and foist them on whoever picks it up. To prevent such a vicarious calamity, more than one mother on that evening pounced upon a child who child-like had picked up the doll and threw it far from him.

On that night round pieces of red or white paper placed in cleft sticks are put upon the roofs of houses, and those persons who have been warned by the sorcerers of troubles to come, pray (?) to the moon to remove them.

A common Korean custom on the same day is for people to paint images on paper, and to write against them their troubles of body or mind, afterwards giving the paper to a boy who burns it.

A more singular New Year custom in Seoul is "Walking the Bridges." Up to midnight, men, women, and children cross a bridge or bridges as many times as they are years old. This is believed to prevent pains in the feet and legs during the year.

This day, the "Great Fifteenth Day," concludes the kite-flying and stone fights which enliven Seoul for the previous fortnight, and every Korean insists on keeping it as a holiday. Graves are formally visited, and gathered families spread food before the ancestral tablets. Curious customs prevail at this time. A few days before, the Palace eunuchs chant invocations, swinging burning torches as they do so. This is supposed to ensure bountiful crops for

the next season. People buy quantities of nuts, which they crack, hold the kernels in the mouth, and then throw them away. This is to prevent summer sores and boils. Also on the Great Fifteenth Day men try to find out the probable rainfall for each month by splitting a small piece of bamboo, and laying twelve beans side by side in one of the halves, after which it is closed, and after being bound tightly with cord, is lowered into a well for the night. Each bean represents a month. In the morning, when they are examined in rotation, they are variously enlarged, and the enlargement indicates the proportion of rain in that special moon. If, on the contrary, one or more are wizened, it causes great alarm, as indicating complete or partial drought in one or more months. Dogs do not get their usual meal on the morning of the "Great Fifteenth," in the belief that the deprivation will keep them from being pestered with flies during the long summer.

If a boy has been born during the year, poles bearing paper fish by day and lanterns by night project from the house of the parents. The people at night watch the burning of candles. If they are entirely burned, the life of the child will be long; if only partially burned, it will be proportionately shorter.

I left Seoul very regretfully on 5th February. The Japanese had introduced *jinrikshas*, but the runners were unskilled, and I met with so severe an accident in going down to Chemulpo that I did not recover for a year. The line of steamers to Japan was totally disorganised by the war, and in the week that I waited for the *Higo Maru* war was uppermost in people's thoughts. There were some who even then could not bring themselves to believe in

the eventual success of the Japanese. The fall of Wei-hai-wei and the capture of the Chinese fleet opened many eyes. I was in the office of the "N.Y.K." when the news came, and the clerks were too wild with excitement to attend to me, apologising by saying, "It's another victory!" Chemulpo was decorated, illuminated, and processioned for victories, Li Hung Chang was burned in effigy, and unlimited *sake* for all comers was supplied from tubs at the street corners.

There were indications of the cost of victory, however. The great military hospitals were full, the cemetery was filling fast, military funerals with military pomp and Shinto priests passed down the bannered street, and 600 transport coolies tramping from Manchuria arrived in rags and tatters, some clothed in raw hides and raw skins of sheep, their feet, hands, and lips frost-bitten, and with blackened stumps of fingers and toes protruding from filthy bandages. The Japanese schools teach that Japan has a right to demand all that a man has, and that life itself is not too costly a sacrifice for him to lay on the altar of his country. Undoubtedly the teaching bears fruit. Not long before at Osaka I saw the wharves piled high with voluntary contributions for the troops, and the Third Army leave the city amidst an outburst of popular enthusiasm such as I never saw equalled. Most of these coolies, when they received new clothing, volunteered for further service, and dying soldiers on battlefields and in hospitals uttered "*Dai Nippon Banzai!*" (Great Japan for ever!) with their last faltering breath.

When I left Korea the condition of things may be summarised thus. Japan was thoroughly in earnest as

to reforming the Korean administration through Koreans, and very many reforms were decreed or in contemplation, while some evils and abuses were already swept away. The King, deprived of his absolute sovereignty, was practically a salaried registrar of decrees. Count Inouye occupied the position of "Resident," and the Government was administered in the King's name by a Cabinet consisting of the heads of ten departments, in some measure the nominees of the "Resident."[1]

[1] I repeat this statement in this form for the benefit of the reader, and ask him to compare it with a summary of Korean affairs early in 1897, given in chapter xxxvi. of this volume.

CHAPTER XXIII

A DARK CHAPTER OF KOREAN HISTORY

In May 1895 a treaty of peace between China and Japan was signed at Shimonoseki, a heavy indemnity, the island of Formosa, and a great accession of prestige, being the gains of Japan. From thenceforward no power having interests in the Far East could afford to regard her as a *quantité négligéable.*

After travelling for some months in South and Mid China, and spending the summer in Japan, I arrived in Nagasaki in October 1895, to hear a rumour of the assassination of the Korean Queen, afterwards confirmed on board the *Suruga Maru* by Mr. Sill, the American Minister, who was hurrying back to his post in Seoul in consequence of the disturbed state of affairs. I went up immediately from Chemulpo to the capital, where I was Mr. Hillier's guest at the English Legation for two exciting months.

The native and foreign communities were naturally much excited by the tragedy at the Palace, and the treatment which the King was receiving. Count Inouye, whose presence in Seoul always produced confidence, had

left a month before, and had been succeeded by General Viscount Miura, a capable soldier, without diplomatic experience.

In an interview which Count Inouye had with the Queen shortly before his departure, speaking of the ascendency of the Tai-Won-Kun, after the capture of the Palace by Mr. Otori in the previous July, Her Majesty said, "It is a matter of regret to me that the overtures made by me towards Japan were rejected. The Tai-Won-Kun, on the other hand, who showed his unfriendliness towards Japan, was assisted by the Japanese Minister to rise in power."

In the despatch in which Count Inouye reported this interview to his Government he wrote:—

> I gave as far as I could an explanation of these things to the Queen, and after so allaying her suspicions, I further explained that it was the true and sincere desire of the Emperor and Government of Japan to place the independence of Korea on a firm basis, and in the meantime to strengthen the Royal House of Korea. *In the event of any member of the Royal Family, or indeed any Korean, therefore attempting treason against the Royal House, I gave the assurance that the Japanese Government would not fail to protect the Royal House even by force of arms, and so secure the safety of the kingdom.* These remarks of mine seemed to have moved the King and Queen, and their anxiety for the future appeared to be much relieved.

The Korean sovereigns would naturally think themselves justified in relying on the promise so frankly given by one of the most distinguished of Japanese statesmen, whom they had learned to regard with confidence and respect, and it is clear to myself that when the fateful night came, a month later, their reliance on this assurance

led them to omit certain possible precautions, and caused the Queen to neglect to make her escape at the first hint of danger.

When the well-known arrangement between Viscount Miura and the Tai-Won-Kun was ripe for execution, the Japanese Minister directed the Commandant of the Japanese battalion quartered in the barracks just outside the Palace gate to facilitate the Tai-Won-Kun's entry into the Palace by arranging the disposition of the *Kun-ren-tai* (Korean troops drilled by Japanese), and by calling out the Imperial force to support them. Miura also called upon two Japanese to collect their friends, go to Riong San on the Han, where the intriguing Prince was then living, and act as his bodyguard on his journey to the Palace. The Minister told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils which had afflicted the kingdom for twenty years, and INSTIGATED THEM TO DESPATCH THE QUEEN WHEN THEY ENTERED THE PALACE. One of Miura's agents then ordered the Japanese policemen who were off duty to put on civilian dress, provide themselves with swords, and accompany the conspirators to the Tai-Won-Kun's house.

At 3 A.M. on the morning of the 8th of October they left Riong San, escorting the Prince's palanquin, Mr. Okamoto, to whom much had been entrusted, assembling the whole party when on the point of departure, and declaring to them that on entering the Palace the "Fox" should be dealt with according "as exigency might require." Then this procession, including ten Japanese who had dressed themselves in uniforms taken from ten captured Korean police, started for Seoul, more than three miles distant. Outside

the "Gate of Staunch Loyalty" they were met by the *Kun-ren-tai*, and then waited for the arrival of the Japanese troops, after which they proceeded at a rapid pace to the Palace, entering it by the front gate, and after killing some of the Palace Guard, proceeded a quarter of a mile to the buildings occupied by the King and Queen, which have a narrow courtyard in front.

So far I have followed the Hiroshima judgment in its statement of the facts of that morning, but when it has conducted the combined force to "the inner chambers" it concludes abruptly with a "not proven" in the case of all the accused! For the rest of the story, so far as it may interest my readers, I follow the statements of General Dye and Mr. Sabatin of the King's Guard, and of certain official documents.

It is necessary here to go back upon various events which preceded the murder of Her Majesty. Trouble arose in October between the *Kun-ren-tai* and the Seoul police, resulting in the total defeat of the latter. The *Kun-ren-tai*, numbering 1000, were commanded by Colonel Hong, who in 1882 had rescued the Queen from imminent danger, and was trusted by the Royal Family. The Palace was in the hands of the Old Guard under Colonel Hyön, who had saved Her Majesty's life in 1884. In the first week of October the strength of this Guard was greatly reduced, useful weapons were quietly withdrawn, and the ammunition was removed.

On the night of the 7th the *Kun-ren-tai*, with their Japanese instructors, marched and countermarched till they were found on all sides of the Palace, causing some uneasiness within. The alarm was given to General Dye

and Mr. Sabatin early on the morning of the 8th.[1] These officers, looking through a chink of the gate, saw a number of Japanese soldiers with fixed bayonets standing there, who, on being asked what they were doing, filed right and left out of the moonlight under the shadow of the wall. Skulking under another part of the wall were over 200 of the *Kun-ren-tai*. The two foreigners were consulting as to the steps to be taken when heavy sounds of battering came from the grand entrance gate, followed by firing.

General Dye attempted to rally the Guard, but after five or six volleys from the assailants they broke with such a rush as to sweep the two foreigners past the King's house to the gateway of the Queen's. No clear account has ever been given of the events which followed. Colonel Hong, the commander of the *Kun-ren-tai*, was cut down by a Japanese officer at the great gate, and was afterwards mortally wounded by eight bullets. The *Kun-ren-tai* swarmed into the Palace from all directions, along with Japanese civilians armed with swords, who frantically demanded the whereabouts of the Queen, hauling the Palace ladies about by the hair to compel them to point out Her Majesty, rushing in and out of windows, throwing the ladies-in-waiting from the seven-feet-high verandah into the compound, cutting and kicking them, and brutally murdering two in the hope that they had thus secured their victim.

Japanese troops also entered the Palace, and formed in military order under the command of their officers round

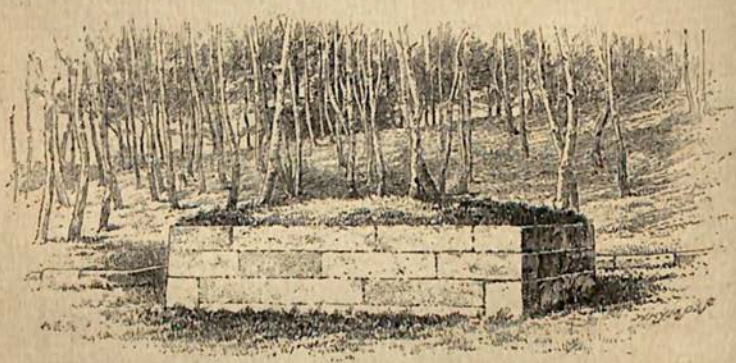
[1] General Dye, late of the U.S. army, was instructor of the Old Guard. Mr. Sabatin, a Russian subject, was temporarily employed as a watchman to see that the sentries were at their posts.

the small courtyard of the King's house and at its gate, protecting the assassins in their murderous work. Before this force of Japanese regulars arrived there was a flying rout of servants, runners, and Palace Guards rushing from every point of the vast enclosure in mad haste to get out of the gates. As the Japanese entered the building, the unfortunate King, hoping to divert their attention and give the Queen time to escape, came into a front room where he could be distinctly seen. Some of the Japanese assassins rushed in brandishing their swords, pulled His Majesty about, and beat and dragged about some of the Palace ladies by the hair in his presence. The Crown Prince, who was in an inner room, was seized, his hat torn off and broken, and he was pulled about by the hair and threatened with swords to make him show the way to the Queen, but he managed to reach the King, and they have never been separated since.

The whole affair did not occupy much more than an hour. The Crown Prince saw his mother rush down a passage followed by a Japanese with a sword, and there was a general rush of assassins for her sleeping apartments. In the upper storey the Crown Princess was found with several ladies, and she was dragged by the hair, cut with a sword, beaten, and thrown downstairs. Yi Kyŏng-jik, Minister of the Royal Household, seems to have given the alarm, for the Queen was dressed and was preparing to run and hide herself. When the murderers rushed in, he stood with outstretched arms in front of Her Majesty, trying to protect her, furnishing them with the clue they wanted. They slashed off both his hands and inflicted other wounds, but he contrived to drag himself along

the verandah into the King's presence, where he bled to death.

The Queen, flying from the assassins, was overtaken and stabbed, falling down as if dead, but one account says that, recovering a little, she asked if the Crown Prince, her idol, was safe, on which a Japanese jumped on her breast and stabbed her through and through with his sword. Even then, though the nurse whom I formerly saw in



PLACE OF THE QUEEN'S CREMATION.

attendance on her covered her face, it is not certain that she was dead, but the Japanese laid her on a plank, wrapped a silk quilt round her, and she was carried to a grove of pines in the adjacent deer park, where kerosene oil was poured over the body, which was surrounded by faggots and burned, only a few small bones escaping destruction.

Thus perished, at the age of forty-four, by the hands of foreign assassins, instigated to their bloody work by the Minister of a friendly power, the clever, ambitious, in-

triguing, fascinating, and in many respects lovable Queen of Korea. In her lifetime Count Inouye, whose verdict for many reasons may be accepted, said, "Her Majesty has few equals among her countrymen for shrewdness and sagacity. In the art of conciliating her enemies and winning the confidence of her servants she has no equals."

A short time after daylight the Tai-Won-Kun issued two proclamations, of which the following sentences are specimens:—

1st, "The hearts of the people dissolve through the presence in the Palace of a crowd of base fellows. So the National Grand Duke is returned to power to inaugurate changes, expel the base fellows, restore former laws, and vindicate the dignity of His Majesty."

2nd, "I have now entered the Palace to aid His Majesty, expel the low fellows, perfect that which will be a benefit, save the country, and introduce peace."

The Palace gates were guarded by the mutinous *Kun-ren-tai* with fixed bayonets, who allowed a constant stream of Koreans to pass out, the remnants of the Old Palace Guard, who had thrown off their uniforms and hidden their arms, each man being seized and searched before his exit was permitted. Near the gate was a crimson pool marking the spot where Colonel Hong fell. Three of the Ministers were at once dismissed from their posts, some escaped, and many of the high officials sought safety in flight. Nearly every one who was trusted by the King was removed, and several of the chief offices of State were filled by the nominees of the officers of the *Kun-ren-tai*,

who, later, when they did not find the Cabinet, which was chiefly of their own creation, sufficiently subservient, used to threaten it with drawn swords.

Viscount Miura arrived at the Palace at daylight, with Mr. Sugimura, Secretary of the Japanese Legation (who had arranged the details of the plot), and a certain Japanese who had been seen by the King apparently leading the assassins, and actively participating in the bloody work, and had an audience of His Majesty, who was profoundly agitated. He signed three documents at their bidding, after which the Japanese troops were withdrawn from the Palace, and the armed forces, and even the King's personal attendants, were placed under the orders of those who had been concerned in the attack. The Tai-Won-Kun was present at this audience.

During the day all the Foreign Representatives had audiences of the King, who was much agitated, sobbed at intervals, and, believing the Queen to have escaped, was very solicitous about his own safety, as he was environed by assassins, the most unscrupulous of all being his own father. In violation of custom, he grasped the hands of the Representatives, and asked them to use their friendly offices to prevent further outrage and violence. He was anxious that the *Kun-ren-tai* should be replaced by Japanese troops. On the same afternoon the Foreign Representatives met at the Japanese Legation to hear Viscount Miura's explanation of circumstances in which his countrymen were so seriously implicated.

Three days after the events in the Palace, and while the King and the general public believed the Queen to be alive, a so-called Royal Edict, a more infamous outrage on

the Queen even than her brutal assassination, was published in the *Official Gazette.* The King on being asked to sign it refused, and said he would have his hands cut off rather, but it appeared as his decree, and bore the signatures of the Minister of the Household, the Prime Minister, and six other members of the Cabinet.

ROYAL EDICT

It is now thirty-two years since We ascended the throne, but Our ruling influence has not extended wide. The Queen Min introduced her relatives to the Court and placed them about Our person, whereby she made dull Our senses, exposed the people to extortion, put Our Government in disorder, selling offices and titles. Hence tyranny prevailed all over the country and robbers arose in all quarters. Under these circumstances the foundation of Our dynasty was in imminent peril. We knew the extreme of her wickedness, but could not dismiss and punish her because of helplessness and fear of her party.

We desire to stop and suppress her influence. In the twelfth moon of last year we took an oath at Our Ancestral Shrine that the Queen and her relatives and Ours should never again be allowed to interfere in State affairs. We hoped this would lead the Min faction to mend their ways. But the Queen did not give up her wickedness, but with her party aided a crowd of low fellows to rise up about Us and so managed as to prevent the Ministers of State from consulting Us. Moreover, they have forged Our signature to a decree to disband Our loyal soldiers, thereby instigating and raising a disturbance, and when it occurred she escaped as in the Im O year. We have endeavoured to discover her whereabouts, but as she does not come forth and appear We are convinced that she is not only unfitted and unworthy of the Queen's rank, but also that her guilt is excessive and brimful. Therefore with her We may not succeed to the glory of the Royal Ancestry. So We hereby

depose her from the rank of Queen and reduce her to the level of the lowest class.

Signed by

YI CHAI-MYON, Minister of the Royal Household.
KIM HONG-CHIP, Prime Minister.
KIM YUN-SIK, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
PAK CHONG-YANG, Minister of Home Affairs.
SHIM SANG-HUN, Minister of Finance.
CHO HEUI-YON, Minister of War.
SO KWANG-POM, Minister of Justice.
SO KWANG-POM, Minister of Education.
CHONG PYONG-HA, Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

On the day following the issue of this fraudulent and infamous edict, another appeared in which Her Majesty, out of pity for the Crown Prince and as a reward for his deep devotion to his father, was "raised" by the King to the rank of "Concubine of the First Order"!

The diplomats were harassed and anxious, and met constantly to discuss the situation. Of course the state of extreme tension was not caused solely by "happenings" in Korea and their local consequences. For behind this well-executed plot, and the diabolical murder of a defenceless woman, lay a terrible suspicion, which gained in strength every hour during the first few days after the tragedy till it intensified into a certainty, of which people spoke as in cipher, by hints alone, that other brains than Korean planned the plot, that other than Korean hands took the lives that were taken, that the sentries who guarded the King's apartments while the deed of blood was being perpetrated wore other than Korean uniforms, and that other than Korean bayonets gleamed in the shadow of the Palace wall.

People spoke their suspicions cautiously, though the evidence of General Dye and of Mr. Sabatin pointed unmistakably in one direction. So early as the day after the affair, the question which emerged was, "Is Viscount General Miura criminally implicated or not?" It is needless to go into particulars on this subject. Ten days after the tragedy at the Palace, the Japanese Government, which was soon proved innocent of any complicity in the affair, recalled and arrested Viscount Miura, Sugimura, and Okamoto, Adviser to the Korean War Department, who, some months later, along with forty-five others, were placed on their trial before the Japanese Court of First Instance at Hiroshima, and were acquitted on the technical ground that there was "no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them," this crime, according to the judgment, being that two of the accused, "AT THE INSTIGATION OF MIURA, DECIDED TO MURDER THE QUEEN, and took steps by collecting accomplices . . . more than ten others were directed by these two persons to do away with the Queen."

Viscount Miura was replaced by Mr. Komura, an able diplomatist, and shortly afterwards Count Inouye arrived, bearing the condolences of the Emperor of Japan to the unfortunate Korean King. A heavier blow to Japanese prestige and position as the leader of civilisation in the East could not have been struck, and the Government continues to deserve our sympathy on the occasion. For when the disavowal is forgotten, it will always be remembered that the murderous plot was arranged in the Japanese Legation, and that of the Japanese dressed as

civilians and armed with swords and pistols, who were directly engaged in the outrages committed in the Palace, some were advisers to the Korean Government and in its pay, and others were Japanese policemen connected with the Japanese Legation—sixty persons in all, including those known as *Soshi*, and exclusive of the Japanese troops.

The Foreign Representatives with one exception informed the Cabinet that until steps were taken to bring the assassins to justice, till the *Kun-ren-tai* Guard was removed from the Palace, and till the recently-introduced members of the Cabinet who were responsible for the outrages had been arraigned or at least removed from office, they declined to recognise any act of the Government, or to accept as authentic any order issued by it in the King's name. The prudence of this course became apparent later.

On 15th October, in an extra issue of the *Official Gazette*, it was announced "By Royal Command" that, as the position of Queen must not remain vacant for a day, proceedings for the choice of a bride were to begin at once! This was only one among the many insults which were heaped upon the Royal prisoner.

During the remainder of October and November there was no improvement in affairs. The gloom was profound. Instead of Royal receptions and entertainments, the King, shaken by terror and in hourly dread of poison or assassination, was a close prisoner in a poor part of his own palace, in the hands of a Cabinet chiefly composed of men who were the tools of the mutinous soldiers who were practically his gaolers, compelled to put his seal to edicts which he loathed, the tool of men on whose hands the blood of his murdered Queen was hardly dry. Nothing

could be more pitiable than the condition of the King and Crown Prince, each dreading that the other would be slain before his eyes, not daring to eat of any food prepared in the Palace, dreading to be separated, even for a few minutes, without an adherent whom they could trust, and with recent memories of infinite horror as food for contemplation.

General Dye, the American military adviser, an old and feeble man, slept near the Palace Library, and the American missionaries in twos took it in turns to watch with him. This was the only protection which the unfortunate sovereign possessed. He was also visited daily by the Foreign Representatives in turns, with the double object of ascertaining that he was alive and assuring him of their sympathy and interest. Food was supplied to him in a locked box from the Russian or U.S. Legation, but so closely was he watched, that it was difficult to pass the key into his hand, and a hasty and very occasional whisper was the only communication he could succeed in making to these foreigners, who were his sole reliance. Undoubtedly from the first he hoped to escape either to the English or Russian Legation. At times he sobbed piteously and shook the hands of the foreigners, who made no attempt to conceal the sympathy they felt for the always courteous and kindly sovereign.

Entertainments among the foreigners ceased. The dismay was too profound and the mourning too real to permit even of the mild gaieties of a Seoul winter. Every foreign lady, and specially Mrs. Underwood, Her Majesty's medical attendant, and Mme. Waeber, who had been an intimate friend, felt her death as a personal

loss. Her Oriental unscrupulousness in politics was forgotten in the horror excited by the story of her end. Yet then and for some time afterwards people clung to the hope that she had escaped as on a former occasion, and was in hiding. Among Koreans opinion was greatly concealed, for there were innumerable arrests, and no one knew when his turn might come, but it was believed that there was an earnest desire to liberate the King. A number of foreign warships lay at Chemulpo, and the British, Russian, and American Legations were guarded by marines.

Nearly a month after the assassination of the Queen, and when all hope of her escape had been abandoned, the condition of things was so serious under the rule of the new Cabinet, that an attempt was made by the Foreign Representatives to terminate it by urging on Count Inouye to disarm the *Kun-ren-tai*, and occupy the Palace with Japanese troops until the loyal soldiers had been drilled into an efficiency on which the King might rely for his personal safety. It will be seen from this proposal how completely the Japanese Government was exonerated from blame by the diplomatic agents of the Great Powers. This proposal was not received with cordial alacrity by Count Inouye, who felt that the step of an armed reoccupation of the Palace by the Japanese, though with the object of securing the King's safety, would be liable to serious misconstruction, and might bring about very grave complications. Such an idea was only to be entertained if Japan received a distinct mandate from the Powers. The telegraph was set to work, a due amount of consent to the arrangement was obtained, and when I left Seoul on a

northern journey on November 7th, it was in the full belief that on reaching Phyöng-yang I should find a telegram announcing that this serious *coup d'état* had been successfully accomplished in the presence of the Foreign Representatives. Japan, however, did not undertake the task, though urged to do so both by Count Inouye and Mr. Komura, the new Representative, and the *Kun-ren-tai* remained in power, and the King a prisoner. Had the recommendation of the Foreign Representatives, among whom the Russian Representative was the most emphatic in urging the interference of Japan, been adopted, it is more than probable that the recent predominance of Russian influence in Korea would have been avoided. It is only fair to the Russian Government to state that it gave a distinct mandate to the Japanese to disarm the *Kun-ren-tai* and take charge of the King. The Japanese Government declined, and therefore is alone responsible for Russia's subsequent intervention.

During November the dissatisfaction throughout Korea with the measures which were taken and proposed increased, and the position became so strained, owing to the demand of the Foreign Representatives and of all classes of Koreans that the occurrences of the 8th of October must be investigated, and that the fiction of the Queen being in hiding should be abandoned, that the Cabinet unwillingly recognised that something must be done. So on 26th November the Foreign Representatives were invited by the King to the Palace, and the Prime Minister, in presence of His Majesty, who was profoundly agitated, produced a decree bearing the King's signature, dismissing the special nominées of the mutineers, the Ministers of

War and Police, declaring that the so-called Edict degrading the Queen was set aside and treated as void from the beginning, and that she was reinstated in her former honours; that the occurrences of the 8th October were to be investigated by the Department of Justice, and that the guilty persons were to be tried and punished. The death of Her Majesty was announced at the same time.

At the conclusion of this audience, Mr. Sill, the United States Minister, expressed to the King "his profound satisfaction with the announcement." Mr. Hillier followed by "congratulating His Majesty on these satisfactory steps, and hoped it would be the beginning of a time of peace and tranquillity, and relieve His Majesty from much anxiety." These good wishes were cordially endorsed by his colleagues.

The measures proposed by the King to reassert his lost authority and punish the conspirators promised very well, but were rendered abortive by a "loyal plot," which was formed by the Old Palace Guard and a number of Koreans, some of them by no means insignificant men. It had for its object the liberation of the sovereign and the substitution of loyal troops for the *Kun-ren-tai*. Though it ended in a fiasco two nights after this hopeful interview, its execution having been frustrated by premature disclosures, its results were disastrous, for it involved a number of prominent men, created grave suspicions, raised up a feeling of antagonism to foreigners, some of whom (American missionaries) were believed to be cognisant of the plot, if not actually accessories, and brought about a general confusion, from which, when I left Korea five weeks later, there

was no prospect of escape. The King was a closer prisoner than ever; those surrounding him grew familiar and insolent; he lived in dread of assassination; and he had no more intercourse with foreigners, except with those who had an official right to enter the Palace, which they became increasingly unwilling to exercise.

It was with much regret that I left Seoul for a journey in the interior at this most exciting time, when every day brought fresh events and rumours, and a *coup d'état* of great importance was believed to be impending; but I had very little time at my disposal before proceeding to Western China on a long-planned journey.

CHAPTER XXIV

MR. YI HAK IN—KOREAN BURIAL CUSTOMS

AFTER the interpreter difficulty had appeared as before insurmountable, I was provided with one who acquitted himself to perfection, and through whose good offices I came much nearer to the people than if I had been accompanied by a foreigner. He spoke English remarkably well, was always bright, courteous, intelligent, and good-natured; he had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and I owe much of the pleasure, as well as the interest, of my journey to his companionship. Mr. Hillier equipped me with Im, a soldier of the Legation Guard, as my servant. He had attended me on photographing expeditions on a former visit, and on the journey I found him capable, faithful, quick, and full of "go,"—so valuable and efficient, indeed, as to take the shine out of any subsequent attendant. With these, a passport, and a *kwan-ja* or letter from the Korean Foreign Office commending me to official help (never used), my journey was made under the best possible auspices.

The day before I left was spent in making acquaintance with Mr. Yi Hak In, receiving farewell visits from many

MRS. BISHOP'S TRAVELLING PARTY.

kind and helpful friends, looking over the backs and tackle of the ponies I had engaged for the journey, and in arranging a photographic outfit. Im was taught to make curry, an accomplishment in which he soon excelled, and I had no other cooking done on the journey. For the benefit of future travellers I will mention that my equipment consisted of a camp-bed and bedding, candles, a large, strong, doubly-oiled sheet, a folding chair, a kettle, two pots, a cup and two plates of enamelled iron, some tea which turned out musty, some flour, curry powder, and a tin of Edward's "desiccated soup," which came back unopened! To the oft-repeated question, "Did you eat Korean food?" I reply, Certainly—pheasants, fowls, potatoes, and eggs. Warm winter clothing, a Japanese *kurumaya's* hat (the best of all travelling hats), and Korean string shoes completed my outfit, and I never needed anything I had not got!

The start on 7th November was managed in good time, without any of the usual delays, and I may say at once that the *mapu*, the bugbear and torment of travellers usually, never gave the slightest trouble. Though engaged by the day, they were ready to make long day's journeys, were always willing and helpful, and a month later we parted excellent friends. As this is my second favourable experience, I am inclined to think that Korean *mapu* are a maligned class. For each pony and man, the food of both being included, I paid $1, about 2s., per day when travelling, and half that sum when halting. Mr. Yi had two ponies, I two baggage animals, on one of which Im rode, and a saddle pony, *i.e.* a pack pony equipped with my side-saddle for the occasion.

Starting from the English Legation and the Customs buildings, we left the city by the West Gate, and passing the stone stumps which up till lately supported the carved and coloured roof under which generations of Korean kings after their accession met the Chinese envoys who came in great state to invest them with Korean sovereignty, and through the narrow and rugged defile known as the Peking Pass, we left the unique capital and its lofty clambering wall out of sight. The day was splendid even for a Korean autumn, and the frightful black pinnacles, serrated ridges, and flaming corrugations of Puk Han on the right of the road were atmospherically idealised into perfect beauty. For several miles the road was thronged with bulls loaded with faggots, rice, and pine brush, for the supply of the daily necessities of the city; then, except when passing through the villages, it became solitary enough, except for an occasional group of long-sworded Japanese travellers, or baggage ponies in charge of Japanese soldiers.

The road as far as Pa Ju lies through pretty country, small valleys either terraced for rice, which was lying out to dry on the dykes, or growing barley, wheat, millet, and cotton, surrounded by low but shapely hills, denuded of everything but oak and pine scrub, but with folds in which the *Pinus sinensis* grew in dark clumps, lighted up by the vanishing scarlet of the maple and the glowing crimson of the *Ampelopsis Veitchii*.

On the lower slopes, and usually in close proximity to the timber, are numerous villages, their groups of deep-eaved, brown-thatched roofs, on which scarlet capsicums were laid out to dry, looking pretty enough as adjuncts to landscapes which on the whole lack life and emphasis,

The villages through which the road passes were seen at their best, for the roadway, serving for the village threshing-floor, was daily swept for the threshing of rice and millet, the passage of travellers being a secondary consideration; everything was dry, and the white clothes of the people were consequently at their cleanliest.

At noon we reached Ko-yang, a poor place of 300 hovels, with ruinous official buildings of some size, once handsome. At this, and every other magistracy up to Phyöng-yang, from 20 to 30 Japanese soldiers were quartered in the *yamens*. The people hated them with a hatred which is the legacy of three centuries, but could not allege anything against them, admitting that they paid for all they got, molested no one, and were seldom seen outside the *yamen* gates. There the *mapu* halted for two hours to give their ponies and themselves a feed. This mid-day halt is one bone of contention between travellers and themselves. No amount of hunting and worrying them shortens the halt by more than ten minutes, and I preferred peace of spirit, only insisting that when the road admitted of it, as it frequently did, they should travel 12 *li*, or about three and three-quarter miles, an hour. At Ko-yang I began the custom of giving the landlord of the inn at which I halted 100 *cash* for the room in which I rested, which gave great satisfaction. I had my mattress laid upon the hot floor, and as Im, by instinct, secured privacy for me by fastening up mats and curtains over the paper walls and doors, these mid-day halts were very pleasant. Almost every house in these roadside villages and small towns has a low table of such food as Koreans love laid out under the eaves.

Beyond Ko-yang, standing out in endless solemnity above a pine wood on the side of a steep hill, are two of the strangely few antiquities of which Korea can boast. These are two *mirioks*, colossal busts, about 35 feet in height, carved out of the solid rock. They are supposed to be relics of the very early days of Korean Buddhism, when men were religious enough to toil at such stupendous works, and to represent the male and female elements in nature. They are side by side. One wears a round and the other a square hat. The Buddhistic calm, or rather I should say apathy, rests on their huge faces, which have looked stolidly on many a change in Korea, but on none greater than the last year had witnessed.

During the day we saw three funerals, and I observed that a Japanese detachment which occupied the whole road filed to the right and left to let one of the processions pass, the men raising their caps to the corpse as they did so. These funerals gave an impression of gaiety rather than grief. Two men walked first, carrying silk bannerets which designated the woman about to be interred as the wife of so and so, a married woman having no name. Next came a man walking backwards with many streamers of coloured ribbon floating from his hat, ringing a large bell, and accompanying its clang with a dissonance supposed to be singing. The coffin, under a four-posted domed cover and concealed by gay curtains, was borne on a platform by twelve men, and was followed by a large party of male mourners, a man with a musical instrument, a table, and a box of food. None of the faces were composed to a look of grief. On the dome were two mythical birds resembling the phœnix. The dome and curtains were brilliantly coloured,

and decorated with ribbon streamers. Two corpses, each extended on a board and covered with white paper pasted over small hoops, lay in the roadway at different places. These were bodies of persons who had died far from home and were being conveyed to their friends for burial. Later we met another funeral, the corpse carried as before on a

MIRIOKS

platform by twelve bearers, who moved to a rhythmic chant of the most cheerful description, the whole party being as jolly as if they were going to a marriage. There was a cross in front of the gay hearse with an extended dragon on each arm, and four large gaily-painted birds resembling pheasants were on the dome.

Korean customs as to death and burial deserve a brief

notice. When a man or woman falls ill, the *mu-tang* or sorceress is called in to exorcise the spirit which has caused the illness. When this fails and death becomes imminent, in the case of a man no women are allowed to remain in the room but his nearest female relations, and in that of a woman all men must withdraw except her husband, father, and brother. After death, the body, specially at the joints, is shampooed, and when it has been made flexible it is covered with a clean sheet and laid for three days on a board, on which seven stars are painted. This board is eventually burned at the grave. The "Star Board," as it is called, is a euphemism for death, and is spoken of as we speak of "the grave." During these days the grave-clothes, which are of good materials in red, blue, and yellow colouring, are prepared. Korean custom enjoins that burial shall be delayed in the case of a poor man three days only, in that of a middle-class man nine days, of a nobleman or high official three months, and in that of one of the Royal Family nine months, but this period may be abridged or extended at the pleasure of the King.

Man is supposed to have three souls. After death one occupies the tablet, one the grave, and one the Unknown. During the passing of the spirit there is complete silence. The under garments of the dead are taken out by a servant, who waves them in the air and calls him by name, the relations and friends meantime wailing loudly. After a time the clothes are thrown upon the roof. When the corpse has been temporarily dressed, it is bound so tightly round the chest as sometimes to break the shoulder blades, which is interpreted as a sign of good luck. After these

last offices a table is placed outside the door, on which are three bowls of rice and a squash. Beside it are three pair of straw sandals. The rice and sandals are for the three *sajas*, or official servants, who come to conduct one of the souls to the "Ten Judges." The squash is broken, the shoes burned, and the rice thrown away within half an hour after death. Pictures of the *Siptai-wong* or "Ten Judges" are to be seen in Buddhist temples in Korea. On a man's death one of his souls is seized by their servants and carried to the Unknown, where these Judges, who through their spies are kept well informed as to human deeds, sentence it accordingly, either to "a good place" or to one of the manifold hells. The influence of Buddhism doubtless maintains the observance of this singular custom, even where the idea of its significance is lost or discredited.

The coffin is oblong. Where interment is delayed, it is hermetically sealed with several coats of lacquer. Until the funeral there is wailing daily in the dead man's house at the three hours of meals. Next the geomancer is consulted about the site for the grave, and receives a fee heavy in proportion to the means of the family. He is believed from long study to have become acquainted with all the good and bad influences which are said to reside in the ground. A fortunate site brings rank, wealth, and many sons to the sons and grandsons of the deceased, and should be, if possible, on the southerly slope of a hill. He also chooses an auspicious day for the burial.

In the case of a rich man, the grave with a stone altar in front of it is prepared beforehand, in that of a poor man not till the procession arrives. The coffin is placed in a gaily-decorated hearse, and with wailing, music, singing,

wine, food, and if in the evening, with many coloured lanterns, the *cortège* proceeds to the grave. A widow may accompany her husband's corpse in a closed chair, though this appears unusual, but the mourners are all men in immense hats, which conceal their faces, and sackcloth clothing.

After the burial and the making of the circular mound over the coffin, a libation of wine is poured out and the company proceeds to sacrifice and to feast. Offerings of wine and dried fish are placed on the stone altar in front of the grave if it has been erected, or on small tables. The relatives, facing these and the grave, make five prostrations, and a formula wishing peace to the spirit which is to dwell there is repeated. Behind the grave similar offerings and prostrations are made to the mountain spirit, who presides over it, and who is the host of the soul committed to his care. The wine is thrown away, and the fish bestowed upon the servants. It will be observed that no priest has any part in the ceremonies connected with death and burial, and that two souls have now been disposed of—one to the judgment of the Unknown, and the other to the keeping of the mountain spirit.

A chair is invariably carried in a funeral procession containing the memorial, or, as we say, the "ancestral tablet" of the deceased, a strip of white wood, bearing the family name, set in a socket. A part of the inscription on this is written at the house, and it is completed at the grave. It is carried back with exactly the same style and attendance that the dead man would have had had he been living, for the third soul is supposed to return to the house with the mourners, and to take up its abode in the

tablet, which is placed in a vacant room and raised on a black lacquer chair with a black lacquer table before it, on which renewed offerings are made of bread, wine, cooked meat, and vermicelli soup, the spirit being supposed to regale itself with their odours. The mourners again prostrate themselves five times, after which they eat the offerings in an adjoining room. It is customary for friends to strew the route of the procession with paper money.

In the period between the death and the interment silence is observed in the house of mourning, and only those visitors are received who come to condole with the family and speak of the virtues of the departed. It is believed that conversation on any ordinary topic will cause the corpse to shake in the coffin and show other symptoms of unrest. For the same reason the servants are very particular in watching the cats of the household if there are any, but cats are not in favour in Korea. It is terribly unlucky for a cat to jump over a corpse. It may even cause it to stand upright. After the deceased has been carried out of the house, two or three *mu-tang* or sorceresses enter it with musical instruments and the other paraphernalia of their profession. After a time one becomes "inspired" by the spirit of the dead man, and accurately impersonates him, even to his small tricks of manner, movement, and speech. She gives a narrative of his life in the first person singular, if he were a bad man confessing his misdeeds, which may have been unsuspected by his neighbours, and if he were a good man, narrating his virtues with becoming modesty. At the end she bows, takes a solemn farewell of those present, and retires.

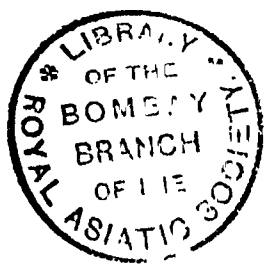
After the tablet has been removed to the ancestral temple, and the period of mourning is over, meals are offered in the shrine once every month, and also on the anniversary of each death, all the descendants assembling, and these observances extend backwards to the ancestors of five generations. Thus it is a very costly thing to have many near relations and a number of ancestors, the expense falling on the eldest son and his heirs. A Korean gentleman told me that his nephew, upon whom this duty falls, spends more upon it than upon his household expenses.

It is not till the three years' mourning for a father has expired that his tablet is removed to the ancestral temple which rich men have near their houses. During the period of mourning it is kept in a vacant room, usually in the women's apartments. A poor man puts it in a box on one side of his room, and when he worships his other ancestors, strips of paper with their names upon them are pasted on the mud wall. I have slept in rooms in which the tablet lay smothered in dust on one of the cross-beams. Common people only worship for their ancestors of three generations. The anniversary of a father's death is kept with much ceremony for three years. On the previous night sacrifice is offered before the tablet, and on the following day the friends pay visits of condolence to the family, and eat varieties of food. During the day they visit the grave and offer sacrifices to the soul and the mountain spirit.

A widow wears mourning all her life. If she has no son she acts the part of a son in performing the ancestral rites for her husband. It has not been correct for widows

to remarry. If, however, a widow inherits property she occasionally marries to rid herself of importunities, in which case she is usually robbed and deserted.

The custom of tolerating the remarriage of widows has, however, lately been changed into the *right* of remarriage.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CHAPTER XXV

FROM PA JU TO SONG-DO

It grew dark before we reached Pa Ju, and the *mapu* were in great terror of tigers and robbers. It is unpleasant to reach a Korean inn after nightfall, for there are no lights by which to unload the baggage, and noise and confusion prevail.

When the traveller arrives a man rushes in with a brush, stirs up the dust and vermin, and sometimes puts down a coarse mat. Experience has taught me that an oiled sheet is a better protection against vermin than a pony-load of insect powder. I made much use of the tripod of my camera. It served as a candle-stand, a barometer-suspender, and an arrangement on which to hang my clothes at night out of harm's way. In two hours after arrival my food was ready, after which Mr. Yi came in to talk over the day, to plan the morrow, to enlighten me on Korean customs, and to interpret my orders to the faithful Im, and by 8.30 I was asleep!

After leaving Pa Ju the country is extremely pretty, and one of the most picturesque views in Korea is from the height overlooking the romantically-situated village of

Im-jin, clustering along both sides of a ravine, which terminates on the broad Im-jin Gang, a tributary of the Han, in two steep rocky bluffs, sprinkled with the *Pinus sinensis*, the two being connected by a fine, double-roofed granite Chinese gateway, inscribed "Gate for the tranquillisation of the West." The road passing down the village street reaches the water's edge through this relic, one of three or four similar barriers on this high-road to China. The Im-jin Gang, there 343 yards broad, has shallow water and a flat sandy shore on its north side, but a range of high bluffs, crowned with extensive old defensive works, lines the south side, the gateway being the only break for many miles. Below these the river is a deep green stream, navigable for craft of 14 tons for 40 miles from its mouth. There was a still, faintly blue atmosphere, and the sails of boats passing dreamily into the mountains over the silver water had a most artistic effect.

There are two Chinese bridges on that road, curved slabs of stone, supported on four-sided blocks of granite, giving one a feeling of security, even though they have no parapets. Korean bridges are poles laid over a river, with matting or brushwood covered with earth upon them, and are usually full of holes. These precarious structures had just been replaced after the summer rains. A *mapu* usually goes ahead to test their solidity. The region is extremely fertile, producing fine crops of rice, wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat, cotton, sesamum, castor oil, beans, maize, tobacco, capsicums, egg plant, peas, etc. But Russian and American kerosene is fast displacing the vegetable oils for burning, and is producing the same revolution in village evening life which it has effected in the

Western Islands of Scotland. I never saw a Korean hamlet south of Phyöng-yang, however far from the main road, into which kerosene had not penetrated.

I was obliged to halt for the night when only 10 *li* from Song-do, all the more regretfully, because the people were unwilling to receive a foreigner, and the family room which I occupied, only 8 feet 6 inches by 6 feet, was heated up to 85°, was poisoned with the smell of cakes of rotting beans, and was so alive with vermin of every description that I was obliged to suspend a curtain over my bed to prevent them from falling upon it.

The next morning, in an atmosphere which idealised everything, we reached Song-do, or Kai-söng, now the second city in the kingdom, once the capital of Hon-jö, one of the three kingdoms which united to form Korea, and the capital of Korea five centuries ago. A city of 60,000 people, lying to the south of Sang-dan San, with a wall ten miles in circumference running irregularly over heights, and pierced by double-roofed gateways, with a peaked and splintered ridge extending from Sang-dan San to the north-east, its higher summits attaining altitudes of from 2000 to 3000 feet, it has a striking resemblance to Seoul.

The great gate is approached by an avenue of trees, and the road is lined with *seun-tjeung-pi*, monuments to good governors and magistrates, faithful widows, and pious sons. A wide street, its apparent width narrowed by two rows of thatched booths, divides the city. It was a scene of bustle, activity, and petty trade, something like a fair. The women wear white sheets gathered round their heads and nearly reaching their feet. The street was thronged

with men in huge hats and very white clothing, with boy bridegrooms in pink garments and the quaint yellow hats which custom enjoins for several months after marriage, and with mourners dressed in sackcloth from head to foot, the head and shoulders concealed by peaked and scalloped hats, the identity being further disguised by two-handled sackcloth screens, held up to their eyes. In thatched stalls on low stands and on mats on the ground were all Korean necessaries and luxuries, among which were large quantities of English piece goods, and hacked pieces of beef with the blood in it, Korean killed meat being enough to make any one a vegetarian. Goats are killed by pulling them to and fro in a narrow stream, which method is said to destroy the rank taste of the flesh; dogs by twirling them in a noose until they are unconscious, after which they are bled. I have already inflicted on my readers an account of the fate of a bullock at Korean hands. It was a busy, dirty, poor, mean scene under the hot sun.

The Song-do inns are bad, and a friend of Mr. Yi kindly lent me a house, partly in ruins, but with two rooms which sheltered Im and myself, and in this I spent two pleasant days in lovely weather, Mr. Yi, who was visiting friends, escorting me to the Song-do sights, which may be seen in one morning, and to pay visits in some of the better-class houses. My quarters, though by comparison very comfortable, would not at home be considered fit for the housing of a better-class cow! But Korea has a heavenly climate for much of the year. The squalor, dust, and rubbish in my compound and everywhere were inconceivable, though the city is rather a "well-to-do" one. The water-supply is atrocious, offal and refuse of all kinds

lying up to the mouths of the wells. It says something for the security of Korea that a foreign lady could safely live in a dwelling up a lonely alley in the heart of a big city, with no attendant but a Korean soldier knowing not a word of English, who, had he been so minded, might have cut my throat and decamped with my money, of which he knew the whereabouts, neither my door nor the compound having any fastening!

Points of interest in a Korean city are few, and the ancient capital is no exception to the rule. There is a fine bronze bell with curiously involved dragons in one of the gate towers, cast five centuries ago, an archery ground with official pavilions on a height with a superb view, the Governor's *yamen*, once handsome, now ruinous, with Japanese sentries, a dismal temple to Confucius, and a showy one to the God of War. Outside the crowd and bustle of the city, reached by a narrow path among prosperous ginseng farms and persimmon-embowered hamlets, are the lonely remains of the palace of the Kings who reigned in Korea prior to the dynasty of which the present sovereign is the representative, and even in their forlornness they give the impression that the Korean Kings were much statelier monarchs then than now.

The remains consist of an approach to the main platform on which the palace stood, by two subsidiary platforms, the first reached by a nearly obliterated set of steps. Four staircases 15 feet wide, of thirty steps each, lead to a lofty artificial platform, 14 feet high, faced with hewn stone in great blocks, and by rough measurement 846 feet in length. On the east side there are massive abutments. On the west the platform broadens irregularly. At the

entrance, 80 feet wide, at the top of the steps, there are the bases of columns suggestive of a very stately approach. The palace platform is intersected by massive stone foundations of halls and rooms, some of large area. It is backed by a pine-clothed knoll, and is prettily situated in an amphitheatre of hills.

Song-do as a royal city, and as one of the so-called fortresses for the protection of the capital, still retains many ancient privileges. It is a bustling business town, and a great centre of the grain trade. It has various mercantile guilds with their places of business, small shops built round compounds with entrance gates.[11] It makes wooden shoes, coarse pottery and fine matting, and imports paper, which it manufactures with sesamum oil into the oil paper for which Korea is famous, and which is made into cloaks, umbrellas, tobacco-pouches, and sheets for walls and floors. In answer to many inquiries, I learned that trade had improved considerably since the war, but the native traders now have to compete with fourteen Japanese shops, and to suffer the presence of forty Japanese residents.

I have left until the last the commodity for which Song-do is famous, and which is the chief source of its prosperity—ginseng. *Panax Ginseng* or *quinquefolia* (?) is, as its name imports, a "panacea." No one can be in the Far East for many days without hearing of this root and its virtues. No drug in the British Pharmacopœia rivals with us the estimation in which this is held by the Chinese. It is a tonic, a febrifuge, a stomachic, the very elixir of life, taken spasmodically or regularly in Chinese wine by most Chinese who can afford it. It is one of the most valuable articles which Korea exports, and

one great source of its revenue. In the steamer in which I left Chemulpo there was a consignment of it worth $140,000. But, valuable as the cultivated root is, it is nothing to the value of the wild, which grows in Northern Korea, a single specimen of which has been sold for £40! It is chiefly found in the Kang-ge Mountains; but it is rare, and the search so often ends in failure, that the common people credit it with magical properties, and believe that only men of pure lives can find it.

The ginseng season was at its height. People talked, thought, and dreamed ginseng, for the risks of its six or seven years' growth were over, and the root was actually in the factory. I went to several ginseng farms, and also saw the different stages of the manufacturing process, and received the same impression as in Siberia, that if industry were lucrative, and the Korean were sure of his earnings, he would be an industrious and even a thrifty person.

All round Song-do are carefully-fenced farms on which ginseng is grown with great care and exquisite neatness on beds 18 inches wide, 2 feet high, and neatly bordered with slates. It is sown in April, transplanted in the following spring, and again in three years into specially-prepared ground, not recently cultivated, and which has not been used for ginseng-culture for seven years. Up to the second year the plant has only two leaves. In the fourth year it is six inches high, with four leaves standing out at right angles from the stalk. It reaches maturity in the sixth or seventh year. During its growth it is sheltered from both wind and sun by well-made reed roofs with blinds, which are raised or lowered as may be required. When the root is taken up it is known as "white ginseng," and is bought

by merchants, who get it "manufactured," about 3¼ *catties* of the fresh root making one *cattie* of "red" or commercial ginseng. The grower pays a tax of 20 cents per *cattie*, and the merchant 16 dollars a *cattie* for the root as received from the manufacturer.

The annual time of manufacture depends on orders given by the Government. The growers and merchants make the most profit when the date is early. Only two manufacturers are licensed, and one hundred and fifty growers. The quantity to be manufactured is also limited. In 1895 it was 15,000 *catties* of red ginseng and 3000 of "beards." The terms "beards" and "tails" are used to denote different parts of the root, which eventually has a grotesque resemblance to a headless man! It is possible that this likeness is the source of some of the almost miraculous virtues which are attributed to it. Everything about the factories is scrupulously clean, and would do credit to European management. The row of houses used by what we should call the excisemen are well built and comfortable. There are two officials sent from Seoul by the Agricultural Department for the "season," with four policemen and two attendants, whose expenses are paid by the manufacturers, and each step of the manufacture and the egress of the workmen are carefully watched. Mr. Yi was sent by the Customs to make special inquiries in connection with the revenue derived.

Ginseng is steamed for twenty-four hours in large earthen jars over iron pots built into furnaces, and is then partially dried in a room kept at a high temperature by charcoal. The final drying is effected by exposing the roots in elevated flat baskets to the rays of the bright winter sun.

The human resemblance survives these processes, but afterwards the "beards" and "tails," used chiefly in Korea, are cut off, and the trunk, from 3 to 4 inches long, looks like a piece of clouded amber. These trunks are carefully picked over, and being classified according to size, are neatly packed in small oblong baskets containing about five *catties* each, twelve or fourteen of these being packed in a basket, which is waterproofed and matted, and stamped and sealed by the Agricultural Department as ready for exportation. A basket, according to quality, is worth from $14,000 to $20,000! In a good season the grower makes about fifteen times his outlay. Ginseng was a Royal monopoly, but times have changed. This medicine, which has such a high and apparently partially deserved reputation throughout the Far East, does not suit Europeans, and is of little account with European doctors.

A Post Office had been established in Song-do under Korean management, and I not only received but sent a letter, which reached its destination safely! Buddhism still prevails to some extent in this city, and large sums are expended upon the services of sorcerers. In Song-do I saw, what very rarely may be seen in Seoul and elsewhere, a "Red Door." These are a very high honour reserved for rare instances of faithfulness in widows, loyalty in subjects, and piety in sons. When a widow (almost invariably of the upper class) weeps ceaselessly for her husband, maintains the deepest seclusion, attends loyally to her father- and mother-in-law, and spends her time in pious deeds, the people of the neighbourhood, proud of her virtues, represent them to the Governor of the province,

who conveys their recommendation to the King, with whom it rests to confer the "Red Door." The distinction is also given to the family of an eminently loyal subject, who has given his life for the King's life.

The case of a son whose father has reached a great age is somewhat different, and the honour is more emphatic still. His filial virtue is shown by such methods as these. He goes every morning to his father's apartments, asks him how his health is, how he has slept, what he has eaten for breakfast, and how he enjoyed the meal—if he has any fancies for dinner, and if he shall go to the market and buy him some *tai* (the best fish in Korea), and if he shall come back and assist him to take a walk? The reader will observe how extremely material the pious son's inquiries are. Such assiduity continued during a course of years, on being represented to the King, may receive the coveted red portal. In former days, these matters used to be referred to the Suzerain, the Emperor of China. In Song-do, as in the villages, a straw fringe is frequently to be seen stretched across a door, either plain or with bits of charcoal knotted into it. The former denotes the birth of a girl, the latter that of a boy. A girl is not specially welcome, nor is the occasion one of festivity, but neither is it, as in some countries, regarded as a calamity, although, if it be a firstborn, the friends of the father are apt to write letters of condolence to him, with the consoling suggestion that "the next will be a boy."

CHAPTER XXVI

FROM SONG-DO TO PHYÖNG-YANG

GLORIOUS weather favoured my departure from the ancient Korean capital. The day's journey lay through pretty country, small valleys, and picturesquely-shaped hills, on which the vegetation, whatever it was, had turned to a purple as rich as the English heather blossom, while the blue gloom of the pines emphasised the flaming reds of the dying leafage. The villages were few and small, and cultivation was altogether confined to the valleys. Pheasants were so abundant that the *mapu* pelted them out of the cover by the roadside, and wild ducks abounded on every stream. The one really fine view of the day is from the crest of a hill just beyond O-hung-suk Ju, where there is a second defensive gate, with a ruinous wall carried along a ridge for some distance on either side. The masonry and the gate-house are fine, and the view down the wild valley beyond with its rich autumn colouring was almost grand. It was evident that officials were expected, for the road was being repaired everywhere—that is, spadefuls of soft soil were being taken from the banks and roadsides, and were being thrown into the ruts and holes to

deepen the quagmire which the next rain would produce. From four to seven men were working at each spade! A great part of the male population had turned out; for when an official of rank is to travel, every family in the district must provide one male member or a substitute to put the road in order. The repairs of the roads and bridges devolve entirely on the country people.

The following day brought a change of weather. My room had no hot floor and the mercury at daybreak was only 20°! When we started, a strong north-wester was blowing, which increased to a gale by noon, the same fierce gale in which at Chemulpo H.M.S. *Edgar* lost her boat with forty-seven men. My pony and I would have been blown over a wretched bridge had not four men linked themselves together to support us; and later, on the top of a precipice above a river, a gust came with such force that the animals refused to face it, and one of them was as nearly lost as possible. By noon it was impossible to sit on our horses, and we fought the storm on foot. When Im lifted me from my pony I fell down, and it took several men shouting with laughter to set me on my feet again. When Mr. Yi and I spoke to each other, our voices had a bobbery clatter, and sentences broke off half-way in an inane giggle. I felt as if there were hardly another "shot in the locker," but if a traveller "says die," the men lose all heart, so I summoned up all my pluck, took a photograph after the noon halt, and walked on at a good pace.

But the wind, with the mercury at 26°, was awful, gripping the heart and benumbing the brain. I have not felt anything like it since I encountered the "devil wind"

on the Zagros heights in Persia. At some distance from our destination Mr. Yi, Im, and the *mapu* begged me to halt, as they could no longer face it, though the accommodation for man and beast at Tol Maru, where we put up, was the worst imaginable, and the large village the filthiest, most squalid, and most absolutely poverty-stricken place I saw in that land of squalor. The horses were crowded together, and their baffled attempts at fighting were only less hideous than the shouts and yells of the *mapu*, who were constantly being roused out of a sound sleep to separate them.

My room was 8 feet by 6, and much occupied by the chattels of the people, besides being alive with cockroaches and other forms of horrid life. The dirt and discomfort in which the peasant Koreans live are incredible.

An uninteresting tract of country succeeded, and some time was occupied in threading long treeless valleys, cut up by stony beds of streams, margined by sandy flats, inundated in summer, and then covered chiefly with withered reeds, asters, and artemisia, a belated aster every now and then displaying its untimely mauve blossom. All these and the dry grasses and weeds of the hill-sides were being cut and stacked for fuel, even brushwood having disappeared. This work is done by small boys, who carry their loads on wooden saddles suited to their size. That region is very thinly peopled, only a few hamlets of squalid hovels being scattered over it, and cultivation was rare and untidy, except in one fine agricultural valley where wheat and barley were springing. No animals, except a breed of pigs not larger than English terriers, were to be seen.

One of the most dismal and squalid "towns" on this route is Shur-hung, a long rambling village of nearly 5000 souls, and a magistracy, built along the refuse-covered bank of a bright, shallow stream. As if the Crown official were the upas tree, the town with a *yamen* is always more forlorn than any other. In Shur-hung the large and once handsome *yamen* buildings are all but in ruins, and so is the Confucian temple, visited periodically, as all such temples are, by the magistrate, who bows before the tablet of the "most holy teacher" and offers an animal in sacrifice.

The Korean official is the vampire which sucks the life-blood of the people. We had crossed the Tâo-jol, the boundary between the provinces of Kyŏng-hwi and Hwang-hai, and were then in the latter. Most officials of any standing live in Seoul for pleasure and society, leaving subordinates in charge, and as their tenure of office is very brief, they regard the people within their jurisdiction rather with reference to their squeezeableness than to their capacity for improvement.

Forty Japanese soldiers found a draughty shelter within the tumble-down buildings of the *yamen*. As I walked down the street one of them touched me on the shoulder, asking my nationality, whence I came, and whither I was going, not quite politely, I thought. When I reached my room a dozen of them came and gradually closed round my door, which I could not shut, standing almost within it. A trim sergeant raised his cap to me, and passing on to Mr. Yi's room, asked him where I came from and whither I was going, and on hearing, replied, "All right," raised his cap to me, and departed, withdrawing his men with him. This was one of several domiciliary visits,

and though they were usually very politely made, they suggested the query as to the right to make them, and to whom the mastership in the land belonged. There, as elsewhere, though the people hated the Japanese with an intense hatred, they were obliged to admit that they were very quiet and paid for everything they got. If the soldiers had not been in European clothes, it would not have occurred to me to think them rude for crowding round my door.

A day's ride through monotonous country brought us to Pong-san, where we halted in the dirtiest hole I had till then been in. As soon as my den was comfortably warm, myriads of house flies, blackening the rafters, renewed a semi-torpid existence, dying in heaps in the soup and curry, filling the well of the candlestick with their singed bodies, and crawling in hundreds over my face. Next came the cockroaches in legions, large and small, torpid and active, followed by a great army of fleas and bugs, making life insupportable. To judge from the significant sounds from the public room, no one slept all night, and when I asked Mr. Yi after his welfare the next morning, he uttered the one word "miserable." Discomforts of this nature, less or more, are inseparable from the Korean inn.

The following day, at a large village, we came upon the weekly market. It is usual to inquire regarding the trade of a district, and as the result of my inquiries, I assert that "trade" in the ordinary sense has no existence in a great part of Central and Northern Korea, *i.e.* there is no exchange of commodities between one place and another, no exports, no imports by resident merchants, and no

industries supplying more than a local demand. Such are to be found to some extent in Southern Korea, and specially in the province of Chul-la. Apart from Phyöng-yang, "trade" does not exist in the region through which I travelled.

Reasons for such a state of things existed in the debased coinage, so bulky that a pony can only carry £10 worth of it, the entire lack of such banking facilities as even in Western China render business transactions easy; the general mutual distrust; prejudices against preparing hides and working leather; caste prejudices; the general insecurity of earnings, ignorance absolutely inconceivable, and the existence of numerous guilds which possess practical monopolies.

Under Japanese influence, however, the superb silver *yen* has made its way slowly into the interior, and instead of having to carry a load of *cash*, as on my former journey, or to be placed in great difficulties by the want of it, this large silver coin was readily taken at all the inns, although I did not see a single specimen of the new Korean coinage.

"Trade," as I became acquainted with it, is represented by Japanese buyers, who visit the small towns and villages, buying up rice, grain, and beans, which they forward to the ports for shipment to Japan, and by an organised corporation of *pusang* or pedlars, one of the most important of the many guilds which have been among the curious features of Korea.

There are no shops in villages, and few, where there are any, even in small towns. It is, in fact, impossible to buy anything except on the market-day, as no one keeps

any stock of anything. At the weekly market the usual melancholy dulness of a Korean village is exchanged for bustle, colour, and crowds of men. From an early hour in the morning the paths leading to the officially-appointed centre are thronged with peasants bringing in their wares for sale or barter, chiefly fowls in coops, pigs, straw shoes, straw hats, and wooden spoons, while the main road has its complement of merchants, *i.e.* pedlars, mostly fine, strong, well-dressed men, either carrying their heavy packs themselves or employing porters or bulls for the purpose. These men travel on regular circuits to the village centres, and are industrious and respectable. A few put-up stalls, specially those who sell silks, gauzes, cords for girdles, dress shoes, amber, buttons, silks in skeins, small mirrors, tobacco-pouches, dress combs of tortoise-shell for men's top-knots, tape girdles for trousers, boxes with mirror tops, and the like. But most of the articles, from which one learns a good deal about the necessaries and luxuries required by the Korean, are exposed for sale on low tables or on mats on the ground, the merchant giving the occupant of the house before which he camps a few *cash* for the accommodation.

On such tables are sticks of pulled candy as thick as an arm, some of it stuffed with sesamum seeds, a sweetmeat sold in enormous quantities, and piece goods, shirtings of Japanese and English make, Victoria lawns, hempen cloth, Turkey-red cottons, Korean flimsy silks, dyes, chiefly aniline, which are sold in great quantities, together with saffron, indigo, and Chinese Prussian blue. On these also are exposed long pipes, contraband in the capital, and Japanese cigarettes, coming into great favour with young

men and boys, with leather courier bags and lucifer matches from the same country, wooden combs, hairpins with tinsel heads, and, such is the march of ideas, purses for silver! Paper, the best of the Korean manufactures, in its finer qualities produced in Chul-la Do, is honoured by stalls. Every kind is purchasable in these markets, from the beautiful, translucent, buff, oiled paper, nearly equal to vellum in appearance and tenacity, used for the floors of middle- and upper-class houses, and the stout paper for covering walls, to the thin, strong film for writing on, and a beautiful fabric, a sort of frothy gauze, for wrapping up delicate fabrics, as well as the coarse fibrous material, used for covering heavy packages, and intermediate grades, applied to every imaginable purpose, such as the making of string, almost all manufactured from the paper mulberry.

On mats on the ground are exposed straw mats, straw and string shoes, flints for use with steel, black buckram dress hats, coarse, narrow cotton cloth of Korean manufacture, rope muzzles for horses (much needed), sweeping whisks, wooden *sabots*, and straw, reed, and bamboo hats in endless variety. On these also are rough iron goods, family cooking-pots, horse-shoes, spade-shoes, door-rings, nails, and carpenters' tools, when of native manufacture, as rough as they can be; and Korean roots and fruits, tasteless and untempting, great hard pears much like raw parsnips, chestnuts, pea-nuts, persimmons which had been soaked in water to take the acridity out of them, and ginger. There were coops of fowls and piles of pheasants, brought down by falcons, gorgeous birds, selling at six for a *yen* (about 4d. each), and torn and hacked pieces of bull-beef.

One prominent feature of that special market was the native pottery, both coarse and brittle ware, clay, with a pale green glaze rudely applied, small jars and bowls chiefly, and a coarser ware, nearly black and slightly iridescent, closely resembling iron. This pottery is of universal use among the poor for cooking-pots, water-jars, refuse-jars, receptacles for grain and pulse, and pickle-jars 5 feet high, roomy enough to hold a man, two of which are a bull's load. At that season these jars were in great request, for the peasant world was occupied, the men in digging up a great hard white radish weighing from 2 to 4 lbs., and the women in washing its great head of partially blanched leaves, which, after being laid aside in these jars in brine, form one great article of a Korean peasant's winter diet.

Umbrella hats, oiled paper, hat-covers, pounded capsicums, rice, peas and beans, bean curd, and other necessaries of Korean existence, were there, but business was very dull, and the crowds of people were nearly as quiet as the gentle bulls which stood hour after hour among them. Late in the afternoon, the pedlars packed up their wares and departed *en route* for the next centre, and a good deal of hard drinking closed the day. I have been thus minute in my description because the peripatetic merchant really represents the fashion of Korean trade, and the wares which are brought to market both the necessaries and luxuries of Korean existence.

The reader will agree with me that, except for a certain amount of insight into Korean customs which can only be gained by mixing freely with Koreans, the journey from Seoul to Phyöng-yang tends to monotony,

though at the time Mr. Yi's brightness, intelligence, sense of fun, and unvarying good-nature made it very pleasant. Among the few features of interest on the road are the "Hill Towns," of which three are striking objects, specially one on the hill opposite to the magistracy of Pyeng-san, the hill-top being surrounded by a battlemented wall two miles in circuit, enclosing a tangled thicket containing a few hovels and the remains of some granaries. Unwalled towns are supposed to possess such strongholds, with stores of rice and *soy*, as refuges in times of invasion or rebellion, but as they have not been required for three centuries, they are now ruinous. The one on a high hill above Sai-nam, where the last Chinese gate occurs, is imposing from its fine gateway and the extent of ground it encloses.

Two days before reaching Phyöng-yang we crossed the highest pass on the road, and by a glen wooded with such deciduous trees, shrubs, and trailers as ash, elæagnus, euonymus, hornbeam, oak, lime, *Acanthopanax ricinifolia*, actinidia with scarlet berries, clematis, *Ampelopsis Veitchii*, etc., descended to the valley of the Nam Chhon, a broad but shallow stream which joins the Tai-döng. On the right bank, where the stream, crossed by a dilapidated bridge, is 128 yards wide, the town of Whang Ju is picturesquely situated, 36 *li* from the sea, at the base of two low fir-crowned hills, which terminate in cliffs above the Nam-chhon.

A battlemented wall 9 *li* in circumference, with several fine towers and gateways, encloses the town, and being carried along the verge of the cliff and over the downs and ups of the hills, has a very striking appearance. It

was a singularly attractive view. The Korean sky was at its bluest, and the winding Nam Chhon was seen in glimpses here and there through the broad fertile plain in reaches as blue, and the broken sparkle of its shallow waters flashed in sapphire gleams against the gray rock and the gray walls of the city. On the wall, and grouped in the handsome Water Gate, were a number of Japanese soldiers watching a crowd of Koreans spearing white fish with three-pronged forks from rafts made of two bundles of reeds with a cask lashed between them, and from the bridge the ruinous state of the walls and towers could not be seen.

Whang Ju is memorable to me as being the first place I saw which had suffered from the ravages of recent war. There the Japanese came upon the Chinese, but there was no fighting at that point. Yet whatever happened has been enough to reduce a flourishing town with an estimated population of 30,000 souls to one of between 5000 and 6000, and to destroy whatever prosperity it had.

I passed through the Water Gate into a deplorable scene of desolation. There were heaps of ruins, some blackened by fire, others where the houses had apparently collapsed "all of a heap," with posts and rafters sticking out of it. There are large areas of nothing but this and streets of deserted houses, sadder yet, with doors and windows gone for the bivouac fires of the Japanese, and streets where roofless mud walls alone were standing. In some parts there were houses with windows gone and torn paper waving from their walls, and then perhaps an inhabited house stood solitary among the deserted or destroyed, emphasising the desolation. Some of the

destruction was wrought by the Chinese, some by the Japanese, and much resulted from the terrified flight of more than 20,000 of the inhabitants.

North of Whang Ju are rich plains of productive, stoneless, red alluvium, extending towards the Tai-dŏng for nearly 40 miles. On these there were villages partly burned and partly depopulated and ruinous, and tracts of the superb soil had passed out of cultivation owing to the flight of the cultivators, and there was a total absence of beasts, the splendid bulls of the region having perished under their loads *en route* for Manchuria.

It was a dreary journey that day through partially destroyed villages, relapsing plains, and slopes denuded of every stick which could be burned. There were no wayfarers on the roads, no movement of any kind, and as it grew dusk the *mapu* were afraid of tigers and robbers, and we halted for the night at the wretched hamlet of Ko-moun Tari, where I obtained a room with delay and difficulty, partly owing to the unwillingness of the people to receive a foreigner. They had suffered enough from foreigners, truly!

The concluding day's march was through a pleasant country, though denuded of trees, and the approach to a great city was denoted by the number of villages, dæmon shrines, and refreshment booths on the road, the increased traffic, and eventually, by a long avenue of stone tablets, some of them under highly-decorated roofs, recording the virtues of Phyŏng-yang officials for 250 years!

The first view of Phyŏng-yong delighted me. The city has a magnificent situation, taken advantage of with much skill, and at a distance merits the epithet "imposing." It

was a glorious afternoon. All the low ranges which girdle the rich plain through which the Tai-döng winds were blue and violet, melting into a blue haze, the crystal waters of the river were bluer still, brown-sailed boats drifted lazily with the stream, and above it the gray mass of the city rose into a dome of unclouded blue.

It is built on lofty ground rising abruptly from the river, above which a fine wall climbs picturesquely over irregular, but always ascending, altitudes, till it is lost among the pines of a hill which overhangs the Tai-döng. The great double-roofed Tai-döng *Mön* (river gate), decorated pavilions on the walls, the massive curled roofs of the Governor's *yamen*, a large Buddhist monastery and temple on a height, and a fine temple to the God of War, prominent objects from a distance, prepare one for something quite apart from the ordinary meanness of a Korean city.

Crossing the clear flashing waters of the Tai-döng with our ponies in a crowded ferry-boat, we found ourselves in the slush of the dark Water Gate, at all hours of the day crowded with water-carriers. There are no wells in the city, the reason assigned for the deficiency being that the walls enclose a boat-shaped area, and that the digging of wells would cause the boat to sink! The water is carried almost entirely in American kerosene tins. I lodged at the house of a broker, and had nice clean rooms for myself and Im, quite quiet, and with a separate access from the street. It was truly a luxury to have roof, walls, and floor papered with thick oiled paper much resembling varnished oak, but there was no hot floor, and I had to rely for warmth solely on the "fire-bowl."

Taking a most diverting boy as my guide, I went outside the city wall, through some farming country to a Korean house in a very tumble-to-pieces compound, which he insisted was the dwelling of the American missionaries; but I only found a Korean family, and there were no traces of foreign occupation in glass panes let into the paper of the windows and doors. Nothing daunted, the boy pulled me through a smaller compound, opened a door, and pushed me into what was manifestly posing as a foreign room, gave me a chair, took one himself, and offered me a cigarette!

I had reached the right place. It was a very rough Korean room, about the length and width of a N.W. Railway saloon carriage. It had three camp-beds, three chairs, a trunk for a table, and a few books and writing materials, as well as a few articles of male apparel hanging on the mud walls. I waited more than an hour, every attempt at departure being forcibly as well as volubly resisted by the urchin, imagining the devotion which could sustain educated men year after year in such surroundings, and then they came in hilariously, and we had a most pleasant evening. I shall say more of them later. It was a weird walk through ruins which looked ghostly in the starlight to my curious quarters in the densest part of the city by the Water Gate, where at intervals through the night I heard the beat of the sorcerer's drum and the shrieking chant of the *mu-tang*.

It may be taken for granted that every Korean winter day is splendid, but the following day in Phyöng-yang was heavenly. Three Koreans called on me in the morning, very courteous persons, but as Mr. Yi and I had parted com-

pany for a time on reaching the city, the interpretation was feeble, and we bowed and smiled, and smiled and bowed, with tedious iteration, without coming to much mutual understanding, and I was glad when the time came for seeing the city and battlefield under Mr. Moffett's guidance.

On such an incomparable day everything looked at its very best, but also at its very worst, for the brilliant sunshine lit up desolations sickening to contemplate,—a prosperous city of 60,000 inhabitants reduced to decay and 15,000—four-fifths of its houses destroyed, streets and alleys choked with ruins, hill-slopes and vales once thick with Korean crowded homesteads, covered with gaunt hideous remains—fragments of broken walls, *kang* floors, *kang* chimneys, indefinite heaps in which roofs and walls lay in unpicturesque confusion—and still worse, roofs and walls standing, but doors and windows all gone, suggesting the horror of human faces with their eyes put out. Everywhere there were the same scenes, miles of them, and very much of the desolation was charred and blackened, shapeless, hideous, hopeless, under the mocking sunlight.

Phyöng-yang was not taken by assault; there was no actual fighting in the city, both the Chinese who fled and the Japanese who occupied posed as the friends of Korea, and all this wreck and ruin was brought about not by enemies, but by those who professed to be fighting to give her independence and reform. It had gradually come to be known that the "*wojen* (dwarfs) did not kill Koreans," hence many had returned. Some of these unfortunate fugitives were picking their way among the heaps, trying

to find indications which might lead them to the spots where all they knew of home once existed; and here and there, where a family found their walls and roof standing, they put a door and window into one room and lived in it among the ruins of five or six.

When the Japanese entered and found that the larger part of the population had fled, the soldiers tore out the posts and woodwork, and often used the roofs also for fuel, or lighted fires on house floors, leaving them burning, when the houses took fire and perished. They looted the property left by the fugitives during three weeks after the battle, taking even from Mr. Moffett's house $700 worth, although his servant made a written protest, the looting being sanctioned by the presence of officers. Under these circumstances the prosperity of the most prosperous city in Korea was destroyed. If such are the results of war in the "green tree," what must they be in the "dry"?

During the subsequent occupation the Japanese troops behaved well, and all stores obtained in the town and neighbourhood were scrupulously paid for. Intensely as the people hated them, they admitted that quiet and good order had been preserved, and they were very apprehensive that on their withdrawal they would suffer much from the *Kun-ren-tai*, a regiment of Koreans drilled and armed by the Japanese, and these had already begun to rob and beat the people, and to defy the civil authorities. The main street on my second visit had assumed a bustling appearance. There was much building up and pulling down, for Japanese traders had obtained all the eligible business sites, and

were transforming the small, dark, low, Korean shops into large, light, airy, dainty Japanese erections, well stocked with Japanese goods, and specially with kerosene lamps of every pattern and price, the Defries and Hinckes patents being unblushingly infringed.

Phyöng-yang has a truly beautiful situation on the right or north bank of the clear, bright Tai-döng, 400 yards wide at the ferry. It occupies an undulating plateau, and its wall, parallel for two miles and a half, rises at the stately Water Gate from the river level, and following its windings, mounts escarped hills to a height of over 400 feet, turning westwards at the crest of the cliff at a sharp angle marked by a pavilion, one of several, and follows the western ridge of the plateau, where it falls steeply down to a fertile rolling plain where the one real battle of the late war was fought.

This wall, which is in excellent repair, is a loopholed and battlemented structure, 20 feet high, pierced by several gates with gate towers. The city, large as it was, was once much larger, for the old wall on the west side encloses a far wider area than the modern one. The walk over the grassy undulations within the wall and up to the northern pine-clothed summit is entrancing, and the views, even in winter, are exquisite—eastwards over a rich plain, to the mountains through which the Tai-döng cuts its way, or north-west to one of its affluents and the great battle-field over which in 1893 the joint forces of Chinese and Koreans poured to recover Phyöng-yang from the Japanese, or seawards where the clear bright waters wind through fertile and populous country, or the hilly area within the walls where pine-clothed knolls conceal the devastations,

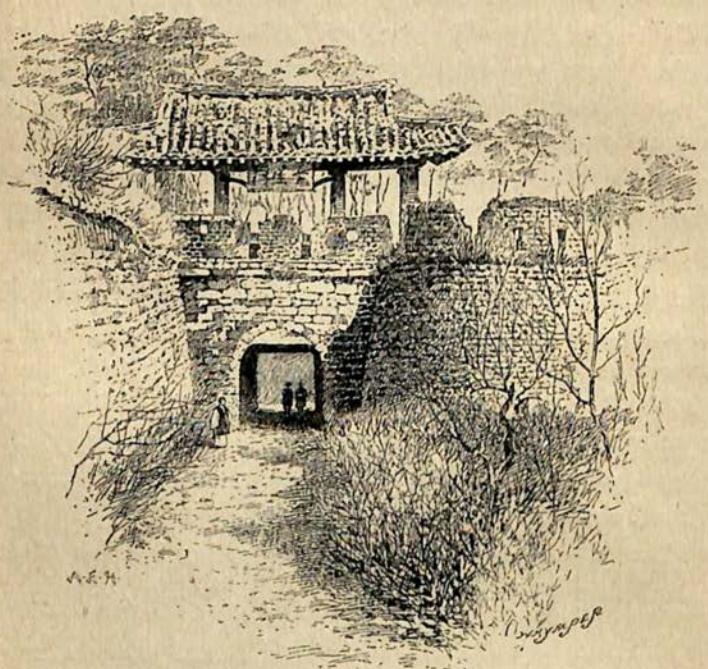
and the Governor's *yamen*, temples, and monasteries make a goodly show.

Between the city and the Chinese frontier is the largest and richest plain in Korea; to the east where the violet shadows lay are the valleys of the two branches of the Tai-dŏng, rich in silk, iron, and cotton, while within 10 miles there are at least five coal-mines,[1] and for all produce there is easy communication with the sea, 36 miles distant, for vessels of light draught, by means of the river which flows below the city wall. Timber is rafted down the Tai-dŏng in summer. The Peking road, which I had followed thus far, and which for centuries has linked Phyŏng-yang with the outer world and the capital, is another element in the former prosperity of the city. It was to photograph for the widow and family of General Tso of Muk-den, the commander of the best-disciplined and best-equipped cavalry brigade in the Chinese army, the scenes connected with his last days and death that I visited the hill within the wall.

The river wall of Phyŏng-yang, after 2 miles of an undulating ascent, turns sharply at a pavilion, outside of

[1] There are five coal-mines at distances varying from 10 to 30 *li* from Phyŏng-yang, those of Yang-tang, 15 *li* away, producing the best quality. With rich iron ore close to the river-bank at Kai Chhŏn, about 36 *li* off, the elements of prosperity are ready to hand. The "coal-owners" have no proper appliances for working the coal, relying chiefly on Korean axes, and the "output" is very small. Much money has been spent in trying to get the coal, and in two mines they cannot proceed any farther with their present tools. The difficulties of transport are great, and there is no demand for any quantity in Phyŏng-yang itself, but the mineral is there in abundance and of good quality, and only awaits capital and enterprise. A tax of 5 per cent is levied on all coal sent away from the mines. The total export for 1895 was only 652 tons, valued at 4 dols. 20 cts. per ton (9s.).

which the ground falls precipitously, to rise again in a knife-like ridge, the three highest points of which are crowned with Chinese forts. From this pavilion the wall, following the lie of the hill, slopes rapidly down to



CHIL-SUNG MÖN, SEVEN STAR GATE.

a very picturesque and narrow gate, the *Chil-sung Mön* or Seven Star Gate, after which it trends in a north-westerly direction to the *Potong Mön.*

In the pine wood, at the highest part of the angle formed by the wall, General Tso had built three mud forts or camps with walls 10 feet high. The ground under the

trees is dotted with the stone-lined cooking holes of his men, blackened with the smoke of their last fires. On the afternoon of the 15th of September 1894, General Tso and his force, which mustered 5000 men when it left Muk-den, but must have been greatly diminished by desertion and death, made his fatal sally, passing through the *Chil-sung Mön* and down the steep zigzag descent below it to the plain, meeting his death probably within 300 yards of the gate. The Koreans say that some of his men took up the body, but were shot by the Japanese while removing it, and that it was lost in the slaughter which ensued. A neat obelisk, railed round, was erected by the Japanese at the supposed spot, bearing on one face the inscription :—

Tso Pao-kuei, commander-in-chief of the Feng-tien division. Place of death.

And on the other—

Killed while fighting with the Japanese troops at Phyöng-yang.

A graceful tribute to their ablest foe.

General Tso's troops, demoralised by his death, sought refuge everywhere from the deadly fire of the Japanese, a part flying back to their forts within the wall, while many, probably blinded and desperate, rode along the pine woods which densely cover the broken ground outside, by a path along a wide dry moat, which, three weeks later, when Mr. Moffett returned, was piled with the dead bodies of their horses.

In the bright moonlight night which followed that day, the Japanese stormed and took by assault the three Chinese forts on the three summits of the ridge, which

were the key of the position, enabling them to throw their shell into the Chinese forts and camps within the wall. The beautiful pavilion at the angle of the wall is much shattered, and big fragments of shell are embedded in its pillars and richly-carved woodwork. So desperately hurried was the flight of the vanquished from the last fort which held out, that they were mown down in numbers as they ran down the steep hill, falling face foremost with their outstretched hands clutching the earth.

All was then lost, and why that doomed army, numbering then perhaps 12,000 men, did not surrender unconditionally, I cannot imagine. During the night, abandoning guns and all war material, the remains of Tso's brigade and all the infantry and unwounded men passed through the deserted and silent city, surged out of the *Potong Mön*, crossed a shallow stream, and emerged upon a plain girdled by low hills, and intersected by the Peking road, the eastern extremity being occupied by some Chinese forts and breastworks. Tso's cavalry attempted to cross the plain and gain the shelter of some low hills, while great numbers of the infantry took to the Peking road.

The horrors of that night will never be accurately known. The battle of Phyöng-yang was lost and won when the forts were taken. What remained was less of a battle than a massacre. Before the morning, this force, the flower of the Chinese army as to drill and equipment, had perished, those who escaped never reappearing as an organised body. It is estimated that from 2000 to 4000 men were slain, with thousands of horses and bulls, the cavalry being literally mown down in hundreds, and

lying, men and horses, heaped "in mounds." For the Japanese had girdled the plain with a ring of fire. Mr. Moffett, who was there three weeks later, described the scene even then as one of "indescribable horror." Still, there were "mounds" of men and horses stiffened in the death-agony, many having tried vainly to extricate themselves from the pile above them. There were blackened corpses in hundreds lying along the Peking road, ditches filled up with bodies of men and animals, fields sprinkled with them, and rifles, muskets, paper umbrellas, fans, coats, hats, sword-belts, scabbards, cartridge-boxes, sleeves, and everything that could be cast away in a desperate flight, strewing the ground. Numbers of the wounded crept into the deserted houses and died there, some of the bodies showing indications of suicide from agony, and throughout this mass of human relics which lay blackening and festering in the hot sun, dogs, left behind by their owners, were holding high carnival. Even in my walks over the battlefield, though the grain of another year had ripened upon it, I saw human skulls, spines with ribs, spines with the pelvis attached, arms and hands, hats, belts, and scabbards.

On a lofty knoll within the wall, the Japanese have erected a fine monolith to the memory of the 168 men they lost. They turned the temple of the God of War into a hospital, and there, *cela va sans dire*, their wounded were admirably treated, and in another building the Chinese wounded were carefully attended to, though naturally not till many of them had died of their wounds on the battlefield. A ghastly retribution followed the neglect to bury the Chinese dead, for typhus fever broke out, and its

ravages among the Japanese troops may be partially estimated by the long lines of graves in the military cemetery at Chemulpo.

Outside the wall, in beautifully-broken ground, roughly wooded with the *Pinus sinensis*, there are still bullets in the branches, many of which were splintered by the iron hail, and the temple at the tomb of Kit-ze, the founder of Korean civilisation, must have been the centre of a deadly fight, for its woodwork is riddled with bullets and damaged by shell, and on its floor are great dark stains, where, when the fight was over, the Japanese wounded lay in pools of blood.

At some points, specially at the mud forts by the ferry, the Chinese made a very determined stand for ten hours, so that the Japanese troops wavered, and were only recovered by a gallant dash made by General Oshima. Probably the battle of Phyöng-yang decided the fate of the campaign.

Mr. Yi found an old book in eighteen vols. for sale, which gives a history of this city. Many Korean matters are lost in obscurity after one or two centuries, but the story of Phyöng-yang takes a bold backward leap and deals fearlessly with the events of centuries B.C. Kit-ze, whose fine reputed tomb and temples in the wood are still regarded with so much reverence that a stone tablet on the road below warns equestrians to dismount in passing so sacred a place, and who is said to have emigrated from China in 1122 B.C., and to have founded a dynasty which lasted for seven centuries, made Phyöng-yang his capital. The temple at his reputed grave, though full of bullets, is in admirable repair, and its rich decorations have lately

ALTAR AT TOMB OF KIT-ZE.

been renovated, a phenomenon in Korea. Near the city is the standard of land-measurement which he introduced, illustrated by ditches and paths cut, it is said, by himself.

The temple to the God of War at the foot of the hill is perhaps the finest in Korea. Frescoes, as in the temple to the same god outside the South Gate of Seoul, but on a far grander scale, cover the walls of the corridors of one of the courtyards, and the gigantic figures round the altar, with the sacrificial utensils, hangings, and dresses, are costly and magnificent. Not far from this is a large and wealthy Buddhist monastery.

CHAPTER XXVII

NORTHWARD HO!

FOR the northern journey simple preparations only were needed, consisting of the purchase of candles and two blankets for Im, in having two pheasants cooked, in dispensing with one pony, leaving us the moderate allowance of two baggage animals, and in depositing most of my money with Mr. Moffett. For there were rumours of robbers on the road, and Mr. Yi left his fine clothes and elegant travelling gear also behind.

On a brilliant morning (and when are Korean mornings not brilliant?), passing through the gate out of which General Tso made his last sally, and down the steep declivity on which it opens, we travelled for a time along the An Ju road, skirting the base of the hill on which the Chinese cavalry made their desperate attack on an intrenched position, and near the ruins of two intrenched camps, where they fell in hundreds before the merciless fire of the enemy, and where human bones were still lying about. But where Death reaped that ghastly harvest magnificent grain crops had recently been secured, and the mellow sunlight shone on miles of stubble.

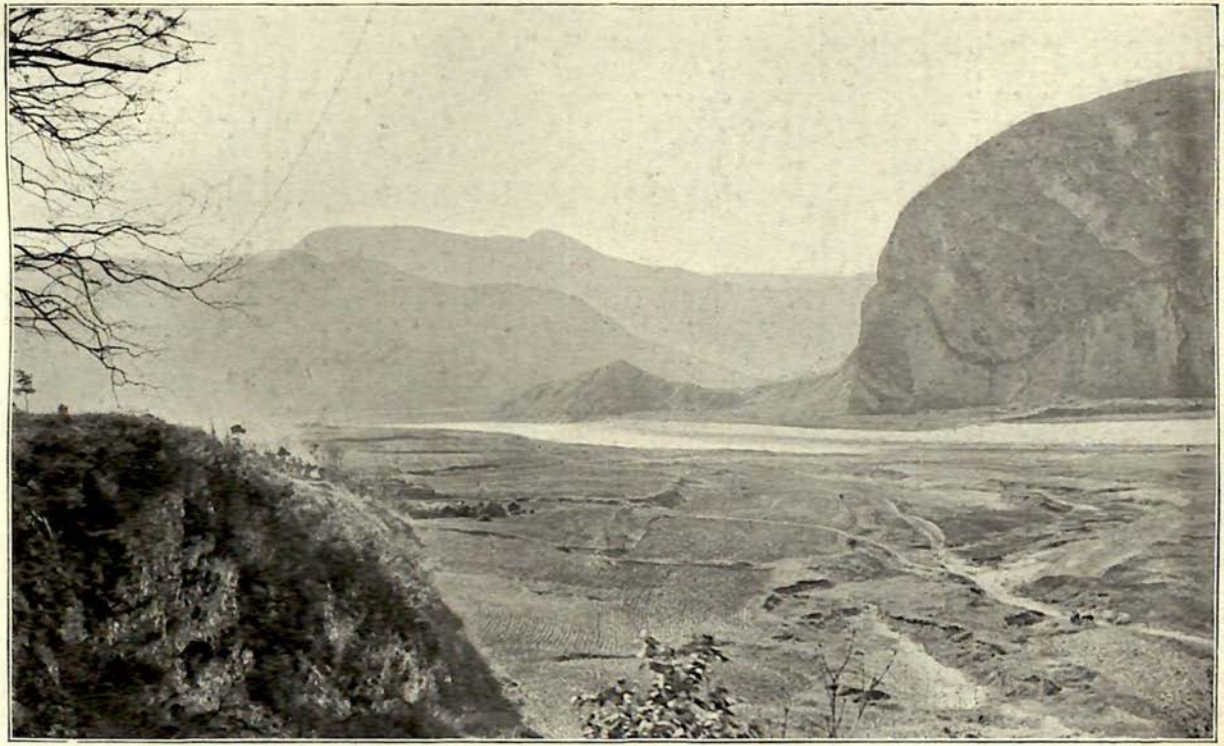
Shortly we turned off on a road untouched by the havoc of war, and saw no more of the gaunt ruins or charred remains of cottages. In that pleasant region ranges of hills with pines on their lower slopes girdle valleys of rich stoneless alluvium, producing abundantly cotton, tobacco, castor oil, wheat, barley, peas, beans, and most especially, the red and white millet. Wherever a lateral valley descends upon the one through which the road passes, there is a village of thatched houses, pretty enough at a distance and embowered in fruit trees, while clumps of pines, oaks, elms, and zelkawas denote the burial-places of its dead, who are the guardians of the only fine timber which is suffered to exist.

The hamlets along the road were cheerfully busy. Millet was stacked in the village roadways, leaving only room for one laden animal to pass at a time, and as all the threshing of rice and grain is done with double flails also in the village street, one actually rides over the threshed product. The red or large millet is nearly as useful to the Korean as is the bamboo to the Chinese. Its stalks furnish fuel, material for mats and thick woven fences, and even for houses, for in Phyöng-an Do the walls are formed of bundles of millet stalks 8 feet high for the uprights, across which single stalks are laid, the interstices being filled up with mud.

After two days of somewhat monotonous prettiness, beyond Shou-yang-yi the country became really beautiful. Some of the larger valleys were specially attractive, with abundance of fruit and other deciduous trees below the dark *Pinus sinensis* on the hill-slopes, and there were plenty of large villages with a general look of prosperity,

everything, clothing included, being much cleaner than usual. There were fine views of lofty dog-tooth peaks, and of serrated ranges running east and west. Nearly every valley has its bright, rapid stream, on which the hills descend on one side in abrupt and much-caverned limestone cliffs, the other side being level and fertile. The people there, and doubtless everywhere, were taken up entirely with their own concerns, the new system of taxation under which a fixed tax in money is levied on the assessed value of the land meeting with their approval. Events in Seoul had no interest for them. The recent murder of the Queen and the imprisonment of the King did not concern them, as there were no effects of either on their circumstances. After crossing the pass of Miriok Yang, 816 feet in altitude, in a romantic region, we entered poorer country with stony soil, often piled with large shingle by the violence of streams then perfectly dry.

By misdirection, misunderstanding, or complexity or complete illegibility of the track, we spent much of the day in losing and retracing our way, scrambling up steep rock ladders, etc., and when we reached Kai-pang after dusk we were for some time refused admission to the inn. The owner said he could not take in any one travelling with so many *mapu* (four) and a soldier. He was terrified. He said we should go away in the morning without paying him, and should beat him when he asked to be paid! However, the *mapu* gave me such an excellent character that at last he consented, and I had an excellent room,—that is, the walls and roof were cream-washed, which gave it a look of cleanliness. The timid innkeeper was old, and this brought out the fact that when a local magistrate has



UPPER TAI-DONG.

aged parents, it is customary for him to invite to an entertainment everybody in his district between the ages of 60 and 100, and it is usual for the old men to take their oldest grandsons with them as testimonies to their old age. As every guest has to be accompanied fittingly, the company often numbers 200.

At Ka-chang and elsewhere the pig-sties are much more solid than the houses, being regular log cabins with substantial roofs for the protection of their inmates from tigers, or in that neighbourhood from wolves (?). These pigs, of which every country family in Korea possesses some, are of an absurdly small black breed, a full-grown animal not weighing more than 26 lbs.

During the two days' journey from the market-place of Sian-chŏng, we passed the magistracies of Cha-san and Un-san, ferrying the Tai-dŏng just beyond Cha-san, where it is a fine stream 317 yards broad, and is said by the ferrymen to be 47 feet deep. All that region is well peopled and fertile. There are no resident *yang-bans* in the province of Phyŏng-an. Gold is obtained by a simple process all round the country, specially at Keum-san. At Wol-po, a prettily situated village, and elsewhere, a quantity of the coarser descriptions of paper is made. Paper and tobacco were the goods that were on the move, bound for Phyŏng-yang.

Paper is used for a greater variety of purposes in Korea than anywhere else, and its toughness and durability render it invaluable. The coarser sorts are made from old rags and paper, the finer from the paper mulberry. Paper is the one article of Korean manufacture which is exported in any quantity to China, where it is used for some of the same purposes.

Oil paper about a sixth of an inch in thickness is pasted on the floors instead of carpets or mats. It bears washing, and takes a high polish from dry rubbing. In the Royal Palaces, where two tints are used carefully, it resembles oak parquet. It is also used for walls. A thinner quality is made into the folding, conical hat-covers which every Korean carries in his sleeve, and into waterproof cloaks, coats, and baggage covers. A very thick kind of paper made of several thicknesses beaten together is used for trunks, which are strong enough to hold heavy articles. Lanterns, tobacco-pouches, and fans are made of paper, and the Korean wooden latticed windows from the palace to the hovel are "glazed" with a thin, white, tough variety, which is translucent. Much prized, however, were my photographic glass plates when cleaned. Many a joyful householder let one into his window, giving himself an opportunity of amusement and *espionage* denied to his neighbours.

The day's journey from Ka-chang to Tok Chhŏn is through very attractive scenery with grand mountain views. After crossing a low but severe pass, we came down upon a large affluent of the Tai-dŏng, which for want of a name I designate as the Ko-mop-so, flowing as a full-watered, green stream between lofty cliffs of much-caverned limestone, fantastically buttressed, and between hills which throw out rocky spurs, terminating or thinning down into high limestone walls, resembling those of ruinous fortifications.

Again losing the way and our time, a struggle over a rough pass brought us in view of the Tai-dŏng, with the characteristics of its mountain course, long rapids with glints of foam and rocks, long reaches of deep, still, slow-

gliding jagged translucent green water broad and deep, making constant abrupt turns, and by its volume suggesting great powers of destructiveness when it is liberated from its mountain barriers. In about a fortnight it would be frozen for the winter. Diamond-flashing in the fine breeze, below noble cliffs and cobalt mountains, across which cloud shadows were sailing in indigo, under a vault of cloud-flecked blue, that view was one of those dreams of beauty which become a possession for ever.

From that pass the road, if it can be called such, is shut in with the Tai-dŏng for 30 *li*. In some places there is not room even for the narrowest bridle-track, and the ponies scramble as they may over the rough boulders which margin the water, and climb the worn, steep, and rocky steps, often as high as their own knees, by which the break-neck track is taken over the rocky spurs which descend on the river. It is one of the worst pieces of road I ever encountered, and it was not wonderful that we did not meet a single traveller, and that there should be only about nine a year! We made by our utmost efforts only a short mile an hour, and it took us five hours of this severe work to reach the wretched hamlet of Huok Kuri, a few hovels dumped down among heaps of stones and great boulders, some of which served as backs for the huts. Poverty-stricken, filthy, squalid, the few inhabitants subsisted entirely on red millet! Poor Mr. Yi, who had had a wakeful night owing to vermin, said woefully as he dismounted stiffly, "Sleepy, tired, cold, hungry,"—and there was nothing to eat, and little for the ponies either, which may have been the reason that they got up a desperate fight, of which they bore the traces for some days.

The track continued shut in by the high mountains which line the Tai-dŏng till within a mile of Tok Chhŏn, forcing the ponies to climb worn rock-ladders, or to pick a perilous way among sharp-pointed rocks. I had not thought that Korea could produce anything so emphatic! As the road occasionally broke up in face of some apparently impassable spur, we occasionally got into impassable places, and lost time so badly that we were benighted when little more than half-way, but as there were no inhabitants we pushed on as a matter of necessity. When we got to better going the *mapu*, inspired by the double terror of robbers and wild animals, hurried on the ponies, yelling as they drove, and by the time we reached the Tok Chhŏn ferry a young moon had risen, and the mountains in shadow, and the great ferry-boat full of horses, men in white, and bulls, in relief against the silvered water, made a beautiful night scene. I sent on the ponies, and Im to prepare my room, fully expecting comfort, as at Phyŏng-yang, for though I could never find anybody who had been at Tok Chhŏn, it was always spoken of as a sort of metropolis.

It is indeed a magistracy, with a remarkably ruinous *yamen* and a market-place, and is the chief town of a very large region. It is entered from the river by stepping-stones, through abominable slush, by a long narrow street, from which we were directed on and on till we came to a wide *place*, where the inns of the town are. There in the moonlight a great masculine crowd had collected, and in the middle of it were our *mapu*, with the loads still on their ponies, raging at large, and Im rushing hither and thither like a madman. For they had been refused

accommodation, and every door had been barred against them on the ground that I was a foreigner! They said, truly or falsely, that no foreigner had ever profaned Tok Chhŏn by his presence, that they lived in peace, and did not want to be "implicated with a foreigner" (all foreigners being Japanese). It is most disagreeable to force oneself in even the slightest degree on any one, but I had been twelve hours in the saddle, it was 8 P.M., there was snow on the ground, and it was freezing hard! The yard door of one inn was opened a chink for a moment, our men rushed for it, but it was at once barred, and we were all again left standing in the street, the centre of a crowd which increased every moment.

Our men eventually forced open the door of one inn and got their ponies in. Then the paper was torn off two doors, and Im was visible against the light from within tearing about like a black dæmon. We had then stood like statues for two hours with our feet in freezing slush, the great crowd preserving a ring round us, staring stolidly, but not showing any hostility. At last Im appeared at an open door, waving my chair, and we got into a high, dark lumber-room; but the crowd was too quick for us, and came tumbling in behind us till the place was full. Then the landlord closed the doors, but they were smashed in, and he had no better luck when he weakly besought the people to look at him and not at the stranger, for his entreaty only produced an ebullition of Korean wit, by no means complimentary. An official from the *yamen* arrived and inquired if I had any complaint to make, but I had none, and he sat down and took a prolonged stare on his own account, not making any attempt to disperse the crowd.

So I sat facing the door, Mr. Yi not far off smoking endless cigarettes, while Im battled for a room, after one he had secured had its doors broken down by the crowd. I sat for two hours longer in that cold, ruinous, miserable place, two front and three back doorways filled up with men, the whole male population of Tok Chhön, and, never moved a muscle or showed any sign of dissatisfaction! Some sat on the door-sill, little men were on the shoulders of big ones, all, inside and outside, clamouring at once.

The situation might have been serious had a European man been with me, and the experiences of Mr. Campbell of the Consular Service, at Kapsan, might have been repeated. No Englishman could have kept his temper in such circumstances from 8 P.M. till midnight. He would certainly have knocked somebody down, and then there would have been a fight. The ill-bred curiosity tires but does not annoy me, though it exceeded all bounds that night. Fortunately for me, a Korean gentleman is taught from his earliest boyhood that he must never lose his temper, and that it is a degradation to him to touch an inferior, therefore he must never strike a servant or one of the lower orders.

At midnight, probably weary of our passivity, and anxious for sleep, the inn people consented to give me a room in the back-yard if I did not object to one "prepared for sacrifice," and containing the ancestral tablets. The crowd then filled the back-yard, and attempted to pour into my room, when Im's sorely-tried patience gave way for only the second time, and he knocked people down right and left. This, and the contents of a fire-bowl which was

upset in the scrimmage, helped to scatter the crowd, but it was there again at daylight, attempting to enter every time Im opened the door!

The "room prepared for sacrifice" in aspect was a small barn, fearfully dirty and littered with rubbish, and bundles of rags, rope, and old shoes were tucked away among the beams and rafters. My camp-bed cut it exactly in half. In the inner half there was a dusty table, and behind it on a black stand a dusty black shrine, at the back of which was a four-leaved screen covered with long strips of paper, on which were poems in praise of the deceased. In front, dividing the room, and falling from the roof to the floor, was a curtain made of two widths of very dirty foreign calico. Among the poor, instead of setting food before the ancestral shrine twice or thrice daily during the three years of mourning for a parent, it is only placed there twice a month. In a small white wooden tablet within the shrine popular belief places the residence of the third soul of the deceased, as I have mentioned before.

I spent two days at Tok Chhön. Properly speaking, the Tai-döng is never navigable to that point, owing to many and dangerous rapids, and any idea of the possibility of this highly picturesque stream becoming "a great commercial highway" may be utterly dismissed. Small boats can ascend it at all seasons to Mou-chin Tai, about 140 *li* lower down, and during two summer months, when the water is high, a few with much difficulty get up to Tok Chhön, and even a few *li* farther, and at the same season rafts descend from the forests of the Yung-wön district, from 30 to 40 *li* higher; but owing to severe

rapids, shallows, and sandbanks which shift continually, the river is not really navigable higher than Phyöng-yang, and all commercial theories built upon it are totally chimerical. For 30 *li* above Tok Chhön the river scenery is far grander than below, the perpendicular walls of limestone rock rising from 800 to 1000 feet, with lofty mountains above them, the peaks of which, even so early as the end of November, were crested with new-fallen snow. I had been assured in Phyöng-yang that boats could be hired at Tok Chhön, and I had planned to descend the river; but there are no boats, except a few ferry scows, higher than Mou-chin Tai.

Tok Chhön and its district are lamentably poor. The people said that the war had made the necessaries of life dearer, and that they had only the same produce to barter or buy with. The reforms which were being carried out farther south had not reached that region, and "squeezing" was still carried on by the officials. Rice, the ordinary staff of Korean life, is brought from An Ju, but is used only by the rich, *i.e.* the officials. The poor live on large and small millet. Potatoes and wheat are grown, but the soil is poor and stony. A little trade, chiefly in dried fish and seaweed, is done with Wön-san. A few silk lenos and gauzes of very poor quality are made, the industry having been introduced by the Chinese. Piece goods are only a few *cash* dearer than at Phyöng-yang. Those displayed on the market-day were nearly all Japanese. It was the dullest market I have seen. The pedlars carried away nearly as much as they brought. The country is absolutely denuded of wood. There are no deciduous trees, and the region owes its few groves of dwarfed and distorted pines

to the horse-shoe graves on the hill-sides. A *yamen* which only hangs together from force of habit, a Confucian temple, and a Buddhist temple on a height are the only noteworthy buildings.

The district magistrate returned while I was in Tok Chhön, and the people showed a degree of interest in the event. Runners lined the river-bank by the ferry, blowing horns, forty men in black gauze coats over their white ones, and a few singing girls, met his chair and ran with it to the *yamen*, and a few men looked on apathetically. A more squalid retinue could not be imagined.

Some magistrates had a thousand of such retainers paid by this impoverished country. In a single province, there were at that time 44 district mandarins, with an average staff of 400 men each, whose sole duties were those of police and tax-collecting, their food alone, at the rate of two dollars per month, costing $392,400 a year.[1] This army of 17,600 men, not receiving a "living wage," "squeezed" on its own account the peasant, who in Korea has neither rights nor privileges, except that of being the ultimate sponge. As an illustration of the methods of proceeding I give the case of a village in a southern province. Telegraph poles were required, and the Provincial Governor made a requisition of 100 *cash* on every house. The local magistrate increased it to 200, and his runners to 250, which was actually paid by the people, the runners getting 50 *cash*, the magistrate 100, and the Governor 100, a portion of which sum was expended on the object for which it was levied. An

[1] My authority for this statement is Mr. W. K. Carles, formerly H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul in Korea.

edict abolishing this attendance, and reducing the salaries of magistrates, had recently been promulgated. At Tok Chhön, the ruin and decay of official buildings, and the filth and squalor of the private dwellings, could go no farther.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FROM TOK CHHÖN TO PHYÖNG-YANG

FINDING the Tai-döng totally impracticable, and being limited as to time by the approach of the closing of the river below Phyöng-yang by ice, I regretfully turned southwards, and journeyed Seoul-wards by another route, of much interest, which touches here and there the right bank of the Tai-döng.

As I sat amidst the dirt, squalor, rubbish, and odd-and-endism of the inn yard before starting, surrounded by an apathetic, dirty, vacant-looking, open-mouthed crowd steeped in poverty, I felt Korea to be hopeless, helpless, pitiable, piteous, a mere shuttlecock of certain great powers, and that there is no hope for her population of twelve or fourteen millions, unless it is taken in hand by Russia, under whose rule, giving security for the gains of industry as well as light taxation, I had seen Koreans in hundreds transformed into energetic, thriving, peasant farmers in Eastern Siberia.

The road, which was said, and truly, to be a very bad one, crosses a small plain, and passing under a roofed gateway between two hills which are scarred by remains of

fortifications running east and west, enters upon really fine scenery, which becomes magnificent in about 30 *li*, at first a fertile mountain-girdled basin, whose rim is spotted with large villages, and then a narrowing valley with stony soil, and a sparse population, walled in by savage mountains of emphatic forms, swinging apart at times, and revealing loftier peaks and ranges then glittering with new-fallen snow.

In crossing the plain at a point where the road was good, I was remarking to Mr. Yi what a pleasant and prosperous journey we had had, and hoping our good fortune might continue, when there was a sudden clash and flurry, I was nearly kicked off my pony, and in a moment we were in the midst of disaster. One baggage pony was on his back on his load, pawing the air in the middle of a ploughed field, his *mapu* helpless for the time, lamed by a kick above the knee, sobbing, blood and tears running down his face; the other baggage animal, having divested himself of Im, was kicking off the rest of his load; and Im, who had been thrown from the top of the pack, was sitting on the roadside, evidently in intense pain—all the work of a moment. Mr. Yi called to me that the soldier had broken his ankle, and it was a great relief when he rose and walked towards me. Everything breakable was broken except my photographic camera, which I did not look at for two days for fear of what I might find!

Leaving the men to get the loads and ponies together, we walked on to a hamlet so destitute as not to be able to provide either wood or wadding for a splint! I picked up a thick faggot, however, which had been dropped from

a load, and it was thinned into being usable with a hatchet, the only tool the village possessed, and after padding it with a pair of stockings and making a six-yard bandage out of a cotton garment, I put up Im's right arm, which was broken just above the wrist, in splints, and made a sling out of one of the two towels which the rats had left to me. I should have been glad to know Korean enough to rate the gossiping *mapu*, three men to two horses, who allowed the accident to happen.

The animals always fight if they are left to themselves, and loads and riders are nowhere. One day Mr. Yi had a bit of a finger taken off in a fight, and if a strange brute had not kicked my stirrup iron (which was bent by the blow) instead of myself, I should have had a broken ankle. When we halted at mid-day the villagers tried hard to induce Im to have his arm "needled" to "let out the bad blood," a most risky surgical proceeding, which often destroys the usefulness of a limb for life, and he was anxious for it, but yielded to persuasion.

Being delayed by this accident, it was late when we started to cross the pass of An-kil Yung, regarded as "the most dangerous in Korea," owing to its liability to sudden fogs and violent storms, 3346 feet in altitude, and said to be 30 *li* long.

The infamous path traverses a wild rocky glen with an impetuous torrent at its bottom, and only a few wretched hamlets, in which the hovels are indistinguishable from the millet and brushwood stacks, along its length of several miles. Poverty, limiting the people to the barest necessaries of life, is the lot of the peasant in that region, but I believe that his dirty and squalid habits give an

impression of want which does not actually exist. I doubt much whether any Koreans are unable to provide themselves with two daily meals of millet, with clothes sufficient for decency in summer and for warmth in winter, and with fuel (grass, leaves, twigs, and weeds) enough to keep their miserable rooms at a temperature of 70° and more by means of the hot floor.

To the west the valley is absolutely closed in by a wall of peaks. The bridle-path, a well-engineered road, when it ascends the very steep ridge of the watershed in many zigzags, rests for 100 feet, and descends the western side by seventy-five turns. Except in Tibet, I never saw so apparently insurmountable an obstacle, but it does not present any real difficulty. The ascent took seventy minutes. Rain fell very heavily, but the superb view to the north-east was scarcely obscured. At the top, which is only 100 feet wide, there is a celebrated shrine to the dæmon of the pass. To him all travellers put up petitions for deliverance from the many malignant spirits who are waiting to injure them, and for a safe descent. The shrine contains many strips of paper inscribed with the names of those who have made special payments for special prayers, and a few wreaths and posies of faded paper flowers. The woman who lives in the one hovel on the pass makes a good living by receiving money from travellers, who offer rice cakes and desire prayers. The worship is nearly all done by proxy, and the rice cakes do duty any number of times.

Besides the shrine and a one-roomed hovel, there are some open sheds made of millet-stalks to give shelter during storms. The An-kil Yung pass is blocked by snow

for three months of the year, but at other times is much used in spite of its great height. Excellent potatoes are grown on the mountain slopes at an altitude exceeding 3000 feet, and round Tok Chhŏn they are largely cultivated and enter into the diet of the people, never having had the disease.

Darkness came on prematurely with the heavy rain, and we asked the shrine-keeper to give us shelter for the night, but she said that to take in six men and a foreign woman was impossible, as she had only one room. But it was equally impossible for us to descend the pass in the darkness with tired ponies, and after half an hour's altercation the matter was arranged, Im, who retained his wits, securing for me a degree of privacy by hanging some heavy mats from a beam, giving me, I am sure, the lion's share of the apartment. Really the accommodation was not much worse than usual, but though the mercury fell to the freezing point, the hot floor kept the inside temperature up to 83°, and the dread of tigers on the part of my hostess forbade my having even a chink of the door open!

The rain cleared off in time for the last sunset gleam on the distant mountains, which, when darkness fell on the pass, burned fiery red against a strip of pale green sky, taking on afterwards one by one the ashy look of death as the light died off from their snows. All about An-kil Yung the mountains are wooded to their summits with deciduous trees, the ubiquitous *Pinus sinensis* being rare; but to the northward in the direction of Paik-tu San the character of the scenery changes, and peaks and precipices of naked rock, and lofty mountain monoliths, with snow-

crowned ranges beyond, form by far the grandest view that I saw in this land of hill and valley.

Then Im had to be attended to, and though I was very anxious about him, I could not be blind to the picturesqueness of the scene in the hovel, Mr. Yi sitting in my chair holding the candle, the soldier, with his face puckered with pain, squatting on the floor with his swollen arm lying on a writing board on my lap, and no room to move. I failed there as elsewhere to get a better piece of wood for the splint, which was too short, and I could only get wadding for padding it by taking some out of Im's sleeve, and all the time and afterwards I was very anxious for fear that I had put the bandage on too tightly or too loosely, and that my want of experience would give the poor fellow a useless right arm. He was in severe pain all that night, but he was very plucky about it, made no fuss, and never allowed me to suffer in the slightest degree from his accident. Indeed, he was even more attentive than before. He said to Mr. Yi, "The foreign woman looked so sorry, and touched my arm as if I had been one of her own people, I shall do my best"—and so he did. I had indulged in a long perspective of pheasant curries, and I must confess that when the prospect faded I felt a little dismal. To a traveller who carries no "foreign food," it makes a great difference to get a nice, hot, stimulating dish (even though it is served in the pot it is cooked in) after a ten hours' cold ride. To my surprise, I was never without curry for dinner, and though before the accident I had only cold rice for tiffin, after it I was never without something hot.

The descent of An-kil Yung is very grand. The road

leads into a wide valley with a fine stream, one side of which looks as if the mountains had dumped down all their available stones upon it, while the other is rich alluvial soil. Gold-washing is carried on to a great extent along this stream, which is a tributary of the Tai-dŏng, and some of the workings show more care and method than usual, being pits neatly lined with stone in their upper parts. Eighty cents per day is the average earning of a gold-seeker there. This valley terminates in pretty, broken country, with fine mountain views, and picturesque cliffs along the river, on which the dark blue gloom of pines was lighted by the fading scarlet of the maple, and crimson streaks of the *Ampelopsis Veitchii* brightened the russet into which the countless trailers which draped the rocks had passed. The increased fertility of the soil was denoted by the number of villages and hamlets on the road, and foot-passengers in twos and threes gave something of life and movement. But it was remarkable that so soon after the harvest, and when the roads were in their best condition, there were no goods in transit except such local productions as paper and tobacco—no strings of porters or ponies carrying goods into the interior from Phyŏng-yang, no evidence of trade but that given by the pedlars going the round of the market-places.

Along that road and elsewhere near the villages there are tall poles branching at the top into a V, which are erected in the belief that they will guard the inhabitants from cholera and other pestilences. On that day's journey, at a cross-road, a small log with several holes like those of a mouse-trap, one of them plugged doubly with bungs of

wood, was lying on the path, and the *mapu* were careful to step over it and lead their ponies over it, though it might easily have been avoided. Into the bunged hole the *mu-tang* or sorceress by her arts had inveigled a dæmon which was causing sickness in a family, and had corked him up! It is proper for passers-by to step over the log. At nightfall it is buried. That afternoon's ride was through extremely attractive country—small valley basins of rich stoneless soil, with brown hamlets nestling round them in calm, pine-sheltered folds of hills, which though not high are shapely, and were etherealised into purple beauty by the sinking sun, which turned the lake-like expanse of the Tai-döng at Mou-chin Tai, the beautifully situated halting-place for the night, into a sheet of gold.

With a splendid climate, an abundant, but not super-abundant, rainfall, a fertile soil, a measure of freedom from civil war and robber bands, the Koreans ought to be a happy and fairly prosperous people. If "squeezing," *yamen* runners and their exactions, and certain malign practices of officials can be put down with a strong hand, and the land-tax is fairly levied and collected, and law becomes an agent for protection rather than an instrument of injustice, I see no reason why the Korean peasant should not be as happy and industrious as the Japanese peasant. But these are great "ifs"! *Security for the gains of industry*, from whatever quarter it comes, will, I believe, transform the limp, apathetic native. Such ameliorations as have been made are owed to Japan, but she had not a free hand, and she was too inexperienced in the rôle which she undertook (and I believe honestly) to play, to

produce a harmonious working scheme of reform. Besides, the men through whom any such scheme must be carried out are nearly universally corrupt both by tradition and habit. Reform was jerky and piecemeal, and Japan irritated the people by meddlesomeness in small matters and suggested interferences with national habits, giving the impression, which I found prevailing everywhere, that her object was to denationalise the Koreans for purposes of her own.

Travellers are much impressed with the laziness of the Koreans, but after seeing their energy and industry in Russian Manchuria, their thrift, and the abundant and comfortable furnishings of their houses, I greatly doubt whether it is to be regarded as a matter of temperament. Every man in Korea knows that poverty is his best security, and that anything he possesses beyond that which provides himself and his family with food and clothing is certain to be taken from him by voracious and corrupt officials. It is only when the exactions of officials become absolutely intolerable and encroach upon his means of providing the necessaries of life that he resorts to the only method of redress in his power, which has a sort of counterpart in China. This consists in driving out, and occasionally in killing, the obnoxious and intolerable magistrate, or, as in a case which lately gained much notoriety, roasting his favourite secretary on a wood pile. The popular outburst, though under unusual provocation it may culminate in deeds of regrettable violence, is usually founded on right, and is an effective protest.

Among the modes of squeezing are forced labour, doubling or trebling the amount of a legitimate tax, exact-

ing bribes in cases of litigation, forced loans, etc. If a man is reported to have saved a little money, an official asks for the loan of it. If it is granted, the lender frequently never sees principal or interest; if it is refused, he is arrested, thrown into prison on some charge invented for his destruction, and beaten until either he or his relations for him produce the sum demanded. To such an extent are these demands carried, that in Northern Korea, where the winters are fairly severe, the peasants, when the harvest has left them with a few thousand *cash*, put them in a hole in the ground, and pour water into it, the frozen mass which results being then earthed over, when it is fairly safe both from officials and thieves.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE POSITION OF KOREAN WOMEN

MAU-CHIN-TAI is a beautifully-situated village, and has something of a look of comfort. Up to that point small boats can come at all seasons, but there is almost no trade. The Tai-dŏng expands into a broad sheet of water, on which the hills descend abruptly. There is a ferry, and we drove our ponies into the ferry-boat and yelled for the ferryman. After a time he appeared on the top of the bank, but absolutely declined to take us over "for any money." He would have "nothing to do with a foreigner," he said, and he would not be "implicated with a Japanese"! So we put ourselves across, and the *mapu* were so angry that they threw his poles into the river.

Passing through very pretty country, and twice crossing the Tai-dŏng, we halted at the town of Sun-chhŏn, a magistracy with a deplorably ruinous *yamen*. All these official buildings have seen better days. Their courts are spacious, and the double-roofed gateways, with their drum towers, as well as the central hall of the *yamen*, still retain a certain look of stateliness, though paint, lacquer, and gilding have long ago disappeared from the elaborately-

arranged beams and carved wood of the roofs, and the fretwork screening the interiors is always shabby and broken.

About the Sun Chhön *yamen*, and all others, there are crowds of "runners," writers, soldiers in coarse ragged uniforms, young men of the *yang-ban* class in spotless white garments, lounging, or walking with the swinging gait befitting their position, while the decayed and forlorn rooms in the courtyard are filled with petty officials smoking long pipes and playing cards. To judge from the crowds of attendants, the walking hither and thither, the hurrying in various directions with manuscripts, and the din of drums and fifes when the great gate is opened and closed, one would think that nothing less than the business of an empire was transacted within the ruinous portals.

Soldiers, writers, *yamen* runners, and men of the *yang-ban* and literary classes combined with the loafers of the town to compose a crowd which, by its buzzing and shouting, and tearing off the paper from my latticed door, gave me a fatiguing and hideous two hours, a Korean crowd being only *un*bearable when it is led by men of the literary class, who, as in China, indulge in every sort of vulgar impertinence. Eventually I was smuggled into the women's apartments, where I was victimised in other ways by insatiable curiosity.

The women of the lower classes in Korea are ill-bred and unmannerly, far removed from the gracefulness of the same class in Japan or the reticence and kindliness of the Chinese peasant women. Their clothing is extremely dirty, as if the men had a monopoly of their ceaseless

laundry-work, which everywhere goes on far into the night. Every brook-side has its laundresses squatting on flat stones, dipping the soiled clothes in the water, laying them on flat stones in tightly-rolled bundles and beating them with flat paddles, a previous process consisting of steeping them in a ley made of wood ashes. Bleached under the brilliant sun and very slightly glazed with rice starch, after being beaten for a length of time with short

LAUNDRESSES AT WORK.

quick taps on a wooden roller with club-shaped "laundry sticks," common white cotton looks like dull white satin, and has a dazzling whiteness which always reminds me of St. Mark's words concerning the raiment at the Transfiguration, "so as no fuller on earth can white them." This wearing of white clothes, and especially of white wadded clothes in winter, entails very severe and incessant labour on the women. The coats have to be unpicked and put together again each time that they are washed, and though some of the long seams are often joined with paste, there is still much sewing to be done.

Besides this the Korean peasant woman makes all the clothing of the household, does all the cooking, husks and cleans rice with a heavy pestle and mortar, carries heavy loads to market on her head, draws water, in remote districts works in the fields, rises early and takes rest late, spins and weaves, and as a rule has many children, who are not weaned till the age of three.

The peasant woman may be said to have no pleasures. She is nothing but a drudge, till she can transfer some of the drudgery to her daughter-in-law. At thirty she looks fifty, and at forty is frequently toothless. Even the love of personal adornment fades out of her life at a very early age. Beyond the daily routine of life it is probable that her thoughts never stray except to the dæmons, who are supposed to people earth and air, and whom it is her special duty to propitiate.

It is really difficult to form a general estimate of the position of women in Korea. Absolute seclusion is the inflexible rule among the upper classes. The ladies have their own courtyards and apartments, towards which no windows from the men's apartments must look. No allusion must be made by a visitor to the females of the household. Inquiries after their health would be a gross breach of etiquette, and politeness requires that they should not be supposed to exist. Women do not receive any intellectual training, and in every class are regarded as beings of a very inferior order. Nature having in the estimation of the Korean man, who holds a sort of dual philosophy, marked woman as his inferior, the *Youth's Primer*, *Historical Summaries*, and the *Little Learning* impress this view upon him in the schools, and as he

begins to mix with men this estimate of women receives daily corroboration.

The seclusion of women was introduced five centuries ago by the present dynasty, in a time of great social corruption, for the protection of the family, and has probably been continued, not, as a Korean frankly told Mr. Heber Jones, because men distrust their wives, but because they distrust each other, and with good reason, for the immorality of the cities and of the upper classes almost exceeds belief. Thus all young women, and all older women except those of the lowest class, are secluded within the inner courts of the houses by a custom which has more than the force of law. To go out suitably concealed at night, or on occasions when it is necessary to travel or to make a visit, in a rigidly-closed chair, are the only "outings" of a Korean woman of the middle and upper classes, and the low-class woman only goes out for purposes of work.

The murdered Queen told me, in allusion to my own Korean journeys, that she knew nothing of Korea, or even of the capital, except on the route of the *Kur-dong*.

Daughters have been put to death by their fathers, wives by their husbands, and women have even committed suicide, according to Dallet, when strange men, whether by accident or design, have even touched their hands, and quite lately a serving-woman gave as her reason for remissness in attempting to save her mistress, who perished in a fire, that in the confusion a man had touched the lady, making her not worth saving!

The law may not enter the women's apartments. A noble hiding himself in his wife's rooms cannot be seized

for any crime except that of rebellion. A man wishing to repair his roof must notify his neighbours, lest by any chance he should see any of their women. After the age of seven, boys and girls part company, and the girls are rigidly secluded, seeing none of the male sex except their fathers and brothers until the date of marriage, after which they can only see their own and their husbands' near male relations. Girl children, even among the very poor, are so successfully hidden away, that in somewhat extensive Korean journeys I never saw one girl who looked above the age of six, except hanging listlessly about in the women's rooms, and the brightness which girl life contributes to social existence is unknown in the country.

But I am far from saying that the women fret and groan under this system, or crave for the freedom which European women enjoy. Seclusion is the custom of centuries. Their idea of liberty is peril, and I quite believe that they think that they are closely guarded because they are valuable chattels. One intelligent woman, when I pressed her hard to say what they thought of our customs in the matter, replied, "We think that your husbands don't care for you very much"!

Concubinage is a recognised institution, but not a respected one. The wife or mother of a man not infrequently selects the concubine, who in many cases is looked upon by the wife as a proper appendage of her husband's means or position, much as a carriage or a butler might be with us. The offspring in these cases are under a serious social stigma, and until lately have been excluded from some desirable positions. Legally the Korean is a strict monogamist, and even when a widower marries

again, and there are children by the second marriage, those of the first wife retain special rights.

There are no native schools for girls, and though women of the upper classes learn to read the native script, the number of Korean women who can read is estimated at two in a thousand. It appears that a philosophy largely imported from China, superstitions regarding dæmons, the education of men, illiteracy, a minimum of legal rights, and inexorable custom have combined to give woman as low a status in civilised Korea as in any of the barbarous countries in the world. Yet there is no doubt that the Korean woman, in addition to being a born *intriguante*, exercises a certain direct influence, especially as mother and mother-in-law, and in the arrangement of marriages.

Her rights are few, and depend on custom rather than law. She now possesses the right of remarriage, and that of remaining unmarried till she is sixteen, and she can refuse permission to her husband for his concubines to occupy the same house with herself. She is powerless to divorce her husband, conjugal fidelity, typified by the goose, the symbolic figure at a wedding, being a feminine virtue solely. Her husband may cast her off for seven reasons—incurable disease, theft, childlessness, infidelity, jealousy, incompatibility with her parents-in-law, and a quarrelsome disposition. She may be sent back to her father's house for any one of these causes. It is believed, however, that desertion is far more frequent than divorce. By custom rather than law she has certain recognised rights, as to the control of children, redress in case of damage, etc. Domestic happiness is a thing she does not look for. The Korean has a house, but no home. The husband has his

life apart; common ties of friendship and external interest are not known. His pleasure is taken in company with male acquaintances and *gesang;* and the marriage relationship is briefly summarised in the remark of a Korean gentleman in conversation with me on the subject, "We marry our wives, but we love our concubines."

JAPANESE MILITARY CEMETERY, CHEMULPO.

CHAPTER XXX

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

AT Cha san, a magistracy, we rejoined the road from which we had diverged on the northward journey. It is a quiet, decayed place, though in a good agricultural country. As I had been there before, the edge of curiosity was blunted, and there was no mobbing. The people gave a distressing account of their sufferings from the Chinese soldiers, who robbed them unscrupulously, took what they wanted without paying, and maltreated the women. The Koreans deserted, through fright, the adjacent ferry village of Ou-Chin-gang, where we previously crossed the Tai-dŏng, and it was held by 53 Chinese, being an important post. Two Japanese scouts appeared on the other side of the river, fired, and the Chinese detachment broke and fled! At Cha san, as elsewhere, the people expressed intense hatred of the Japanese, going so far as to say that they would not leave one of them alive; but, as in all other places, they bore unwilling testimony to the good conduct of the soldiers, and the regularity with which the commissariat paid for supplies.

The Japanese detachments were being withdrawn from

the posts along that road, and we passed several well-equipped detachments, always preceded by bulls loaded with red blankets. The men were dressed in heavy gray ulsters with deep fur-lined collars, and had very thick felt gloves. They marched as if on parade, and their officers were remarkable for their smartness. When they halted for dinner, they found everything ready, and had nothing to do but stack their arms and eat! The peasant women went on with their avocations as usual. In that district and in the region about Tok Chhön, the women seclude themselves in monstrous hats like our wicker garden sentry-boxes, but without bottoms. These extraordinary coverings are 7 feet long, 5 broad, and 3 deep, and shroud the figure from head to foot. Heavy rain fell during the night, and though the following day was beautiful, the road was a deep quagmire, so infamously bad that when only two and a half hours from Phyöng-yang we had to stop at the wayside inn of An-chin-Miriok, where I slept in a granary only screened from the stable by a bamboo mat, and had the benefit of the squealing and vindictive sounds which accompanied numerous abortive fights. If possible, the next day exceeded its predecessors in beauty, and though the drawbacks of Korean travelling are many, this journey had been so bright and so singularly prosperous, except for Im's accident, which, however, brought out some of the best points of Korean character, that I was even sorry to leave the miserable little hostelry and conclude the expedition, and part with the *mapu*, who throughout had behaved extremely well. The next morning, crossing the battle-field once more and passing through the desolations which war had wrought, I reached my old,

cold, but comparatively comfortable quarters at Phyöng-yang, where I remained for six days.

While the river remained open, a small Korean steamer of uncertain habits, the *Hariong*, plied nominally between Phyöng-yang and Chemulpo, but actually ran from Po-san, a point about 60 *li* lower down the Tai-döng, which above it is too shallow and full of sandbanks for vessels of any draught, necessitating the transhipment of all goods not brought up by junks of small tonnage. There was, however, no telegraph between Po-san and Phyöng-yang, no one knew when the steamer arrived except by cargo coming up the river, and she only remained a few hours; so that my visit to Phyöng-yang was agitated by the fear of losing her, and having to make a long land journey when time was precious. There was no Korean post, and the Japanese military post and telegraph office absolutely refused to carry messages or letters for civilians. Wild rumours, of which there were a goodly crop every hour, were the substitute for news.

A subject of special interest and inquiry at Phyöng-yang was mission work as carried on by American missionaries. At Seoul it is far more difficult to get into touch with it, as, being older, it has naturally more of religious conventionality. But I will take this opportunity of saying that longer and more intimate acquaintance only confirmed the high opinion I early formed of the large body of missionaries in Seoul, of their earnestness and devotion to their work, of the energetic, hopeful, and patient spirit in which it is carried on, of the harmony prevailing among the different denominations, and the cordial and sympathetic feeling towards the Koreans.

The interest of many of the missionaries in Korean history, folklore, and customs, as evidenced by the pages of the valuable monthly, the *Korean Repository*, is also very admirable, and a traveller in Korea must apply to them for information vainly sought elsewhere.

Christian missions were unsuccessful in Phyöng-yang. It was a very rich and very immoral city. More than once it turned out some of the missionaries, and rejected Christianity with much hostility. Strong antagonism prevailed, the city was thronged with *gesang*, courtesans, and sorcerers, and was notorious for its wealth and infamy. The Methodist Mission was broken up for a time, and in six years the Presbyterians only numbered 28 converts. Then came the war, the destruction of Phyöng-yang, its desertion by its inhabitants, the ruin of its trade, the reduction of its population from 60,000 or 70,000 to 15,000, and the flight of the few Christians.

Since the war there had been a very great change. There had been 28 baptisms, and some of the most notorious evil livers among the middle classes, men shunned by other men for their exceeding wickedness, were leading pure and righteous lives. There were 140 catechumens under instruction, and subject to a long period of probation before receiving baptism, and the temporary church, though enlarged during my absence, was so overcrowded that many of the worshippers were compelled to remain outside. The offertories were liberal.[1]

[1] The Seoul *Christian News*, a paper recently started, gave its readers an account of the Indian famine, with the result that the Christians in the magistracy of Chang-yang raised among themselves $84 for the sufferers in a land they had hardly heard of, some of the women sending their solid silver rings to be turned into *cash*. In Seoul the native Presbyterian

In the dilapidated extra-mural premises occupied by the missionaries, thirty men were living for twenty-one days, two from each of fifteen villages, all convinced of the truth of Christianity, and earnestly receiving instruction in Christian fact and doctrine. They were studying for six hours daily with teachers, and for a far longer time amongst themselves, and had meetings for prayer, singing, and informal talk each evening. I attended three of these, and as Mr. Moffett interpreted for me, I was placed in touch with much of what was unusual and interesting, and learned more of missions in their earlier stage than anywhere else.

Besides the thirty men from the villages, the Christians and catechumens from the city crowded the room and doorways. Two missionaries sat on the floor at one end of the room with a kerosene lamp mounted securely on two wooden pillows in front of them—then there were a few candles on the floor, centres of closely-packed groups. Hymns were howled in many keys to familiar tunes, several Koreans prayed, bowing their foreheads to the earth in reverence, after which some gave accounts of how the Gospel reached their villages, chiefly through visits from the few Phyöng-yang Christians, who were "scattered abroad," and then two men, who seemed very eloquent as well as fluent, and riveted the attention of all, gave narratives of two other men who they believed were possessed with devils, and said the devils had been driven out a few months previously by united prayer, and that the "foul spirits" were adjured in the name of Jesus to come out,

churches gave $60 to the same fund, of which $20 were collected by a new congregation organised entirely by Koreans. I am under the impression that the liberality of the Korean Christians in proportion to their means far exceeds our own.

and that the men trembled and turned cold as the devils left them, never to return, and that both became Christians, along with many who saw them.

A good many men came from distant villages one afternoon to ask for Christian teaching, and in the evening one after another got up and told how a refugee from Phyöng-yang had come to his village and had told them that they were both wicked and foolish to worship dæmons, and that they were wrongdoers, and that there is a Lord of Heaven who judges wrongdoing, but that He is as loving as any father, and that they did not know what to think, but that in some places twenty and more were meeting daily to worship "the Highest," and that many of the women had buried the dæmon fetishes, and that they wanted some one to go and teach them how to worship the true God.

A young man told how his father, nearly eighty years old, had met Mr. Moffett by the roadside, and hearing from him "some good things," had gone home saying he had heard "good news," "great news," and had got "the Books," and that he had become a Christian, and lived a good life, and had called his neighbours together to hear "the news," and would not rest till his son had come to be taught in the "good news," and take back a teacher. An elderly man, who had made a good living by sorcery, came and gave Mr. Moffett the instruments of his trade, saying he "had served devils all his life, but now he knew that they were wicked spirits, and he was serving the true God."

On the same afternoon four requests for Christian teaching came to the missionaries, each signed by from fifteen to forty men. At all these evening meetings the

room was crammed within and without by men, reverent and earnest in manner, some of whom had been shunned for their wickedness even in a city "the smoke of which" in her palmy days was said "to go up like the smoke of Sodom," but who, transformed by a power outside themselves, were then leading exemplary lives. There were groups in the dark, groups round the candles on the floor, groups in the doorways, and every face was aglow except that of poor, bewildered Im. One old man, with his forehead in the dust, prayed like a child that, as the letter bearing to New York an earnest request for more teachers was on its way, "the wind and sea might waft it favourably," and that when it was read the eyes of the foreigners[1] might be opened "to see the sore need of people in a land where no one knows anything, and where all believe in devils, and are dying in the dark."

As I looked upon those lighted faces, wearing an expression strongly contrasting with the dull, dazed look of apathy which is characteristic of the Korean, it was impossible not to recognise that it was the teaching of the Apostolic doctrines of sin, judgment to come, and divine love which had brought about such results, all the more remarkable because, according to the missionaries, a large majority of those who had renounced dæmon-worship, and were living in the fear of the true God, had been attracted to Christianity in the first instance by the hope of gain! This, and almost unvarying testimony to the same effect, confirm me in the opinion that when people talk of "nations craving for the Gospel," "stretching out pleading hands for it," or "athirst for

[1] The American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

God," or "longing for the living waters," they are using words which in that connection have no meaning. That there are "seekers after righteousness" here and there I do not doubt, but I believe that the one "craving" of the Far East is for money—that "unrest" is only in the East a synonym for poverty, and that the spiritual instincts have yet to be created.

On the Sunday I went with Dr. Scranton of Seoul to the first regular service ever held for women in Phyöng-yang. There were a number present, all dæmon-worshippers, some of them attracted by the sight of a "foreign woman." It was impossible to have a formal service with people who had not the most elementary ideas of God, of prayer, of moral evil, and of good. It was not possible to secure their attention. They were destitute of religious ideas. An elderly matron, who acted as a sort of spokeswoman, said, "They thought perhaps God is a big dæmon, and He might help them to get back their lost goods." That service was "mission work" in its earliest stage.

On returning from a service in the afternoon where there were crowds of bright, intelligent-looking worshippers, we came upon one of the most important ceremonies connected with the popular belief in dæmons—the exorcism of an evil spirit which was supposed to be the cause of a severe illness. Never by night or day on my two visits to Phyöng-yang had I been out of hearing of the roll of the sorcerer's drum, with the loud vibratory clash of cymbals as an intermittent accompaniment. Such sounds attracted us to the place of exorcism.

In a hovel with an open door a man lay very ill. The

space in front was matted and enclosed by low screens, within which were Korean tables loaded with rice cakes, boiled rice, stewed chicken, sprouted beans and other delicacies. In this open space squatted three old women, two of whom beat large drums, shaped like hour-glasses, while the third clashed large cymbals. Facing them was the *mu-tang* or sorceress, dressed in rose-pink silk, with a buff gauze robe, with its sleeves trailing much on the ground, over it. Pieces of paper resembling the Shinto *gohei* decorated her hair, and a curious cap of buff gauze with red patches upon it completed the not inelegant costume. She carried a fan, but it was only used occasionally in one of the dances. She carried over her left shoulder a stick, painted with bands of bright colours, from which hung a gong which she beat with a similar stick, executing at the same time a slow rhythmic movement accompanied by a chant. From time to time one of the ancient drummers gathered on one plate pieces from all the others and scattered them to the four winds for the spirits to eat, invoking them, saying, "Do not trouble this house any more, and we will again appease you by offerings."

The *mu-tang* is, of course, according to the belief of those who seek her services, possessed by a powerful dæmon, and by means of her incantations might induce this dæmon to evict the one which was causing the sickness by aiding her exorcisms, but where the latter is particularly obstinate, she may require larger fees and more offerings in order that she may use incantations for bringing to her aid a yet more powerful dæmon than her own. The exorcism lasted fourteen hours, until four the next morning, when the patient began to recover. A crowd,

chiefly composed of women and children, stood round the fence, the children imbibing devilry from their infancy.

I was not at a regular inn in Phyöng-yang but at a broker's house, with a yard to myself nominally, but which was by no means private. Im generally, and not roughly, requested the people to "move on," but he made two exceptions, one being in favour of a madwoman of superior appearance and apparel who haunted me on my second visit, hanging about the open front of my room, and following me to the mission-house and elsewhere. She said that I was her grandmother and that she must go with me everywhere, and, like many mad people, she had an important and mysterious communication to make which for obvious reasons never reached me. She was the concubine of a late governor of the city, and not having escaped before its capture, went mad from horror at seeing the Chinese spitted on the bayonets of the Japanese. She carried a long bodkin, and went through distressing pantomimes of running people through with it!

The other exception was in favour of *gesang*, upon whose presence Im looked quite approvingly, and evidently thought I did.

Phyöng-yang has always been famous for the beauty and accomplishments of its *gesang*, singing and dancing girls, resembling in many respects the *geishas* of Japan, but correctly speaking they mostly belong to the Government, and are supported by the Korean Treasury. At the time of my two first sojourns in Seoul, about seventy of them were attached to the Royal Palace. They were under the control of the same Government department as that with which the official musicians are connected.

As a poor man gifted with many sons, for whom he cannot provide, sometimes presents one to the government as a eunuch, so he may give a girl to be a *gesang*. The *gesang* are trained from a very early age in such accomplishments as other Korean women lack, and which will ensure their attractiveness, such as playing on various musical instruments, singing, dancing, reading, reciting, writing, and fancy work. As their destiny is to make time pass agreeably for men of the upper classes, this amount of education is essential, though a Korean does not care how blank and undeveloped the mind of his wife is. The *gesang* are always elegantly dressed, as they were when they came to see me, even through the mud of the Phyöng-yang streets, and as they have not known seclusion, their manners with both sexes have a graceful ease. Their dancing, like that of most Oriental countries, consists chiefly of posturing, and is said by those foreigners who have seen it to be perfectly free from impropriety.

Dr. Allen, Secretary to the U.S. Legation at Seoul, in a paper in the *Korean Repository* for 1886, describes among the dances which specially interest foreigners at the entertainments at the Royal Palace one known as the "Lotus Dance." In this, he writes, "A tub is brought in containing a large lotus flower just ready to burst open. Two imitation storks then come in, each one being a man very cleverly disguised. These birds flap their wings, snap their beaks, and dance round in admiration of the beautiful bud which they evidently intend to pluck as soon as they have enjoyed it sufficiently in anticipation. Their movements all this time are very graceful, and they come closer and closer to the flower keeping time to the

soft music. At last the proper times arrives, the flower is plucked, when, as the pink petals fall back, out steps a little *gesang* to the evident amazement of the birds, and to the intense delight of the younger spectators."

The Sword and Dragon dances are also extremely popular, and on great occasions the performance is never complete without "Throwing the Ball," which consists in a series of graceful arm movements before a painted arch, after which the *gesang* march in procession before the King, and the successful dancers receive presents.

Though the most beautiful and attractive *gesang* come from Phyöng-yang, they are found throughout the country. From the King down to the lowest official who can afford the luxury, the presence of *gesang* is regarded at every entertainment as indispensable to the enjoyment of the guests. They appear at official dinners at the Foreign Office, and at the palace are the chief entertainers, and sing and dance at the many parties which are given by Koreans at the picnic resorts near Seoul, and though attached to the prefectures, and various other departments, may be hired by gentlemen to give fascination to their feasts.

Their training and non-secluded position place them, however, outside of the reputable classes, and though in Japan *geishas* often become the wives of nobles and even of statesmen, no Korean man would dream of raising a *gesang* to such a position.

Dr. Allen, who has had special opportunities of becoming acquainted with the inner social life of Korea, says that they are the source of much heart-burning to the legal but neglected wife, who in no case is the wife of her

husband's choice, and that Korean folklore abounds with stories of discord arising in families from attachments to *gesang*, and of ardent and prolonged devotion on the part of young noblemen to these girls, whom they are prevented from marrying by rigid custom. There is a Korean tale called *The Swallow King's Rewards* in which a man is visited with the "ten plagues of Korea" for maltreating a wounded swallow, and in it *gesang* are represented along with *mu-tang* as "among the ten curses of the land."

Dr. Allen, to whom I owe this fact, writes, "Doubtless they are so considered by many a lonely wife, as well as by the fathers who mourn to see their sons wasting their substance in riotous living, as they doubtless did themselves when they were young."

The house in which I had quarters was much resorted to by merchants for whom my host transacted brokerage business, and entertainments were the order of the day Mr. Yi was invited to dinner daily, and on the last evening entertained all who had invited him. Such meals cost per head as much as a dinner at the St. James's Restaurant! Noise seems essential to these gatherings. The men shout at the top of their voices.

There is an enormous amount of visiting and entertaining among men in the cities. Some public men keep open house, giving their servants as much as $60 a day for the entertainment of guests. Men who are in easy circumstances go continually from one house to another to kill time. They never talk politics, it is too dangerous, but retail the latest gossip of the court or city and the witticisms attributed to great men, and tell, hear, and

invent news. The front rooms of houses in which the men live are open freely to all comers. In some circles, though it is said to a far less extent than formerly, men meet and talk over what we should call "questions of literary criticism," compare poetic compositions, the ability to compose a page of poetry being the grand result of Korean education, and discuss the meaning of celebrated works—all literature being in Chinese.

The common people meet in the streets, the house fronts, and the inns. They ask each other endless questions, of a nature that we should think most impertinent, regarding each other's business, work, and money transactions, and for the latest news. It is every man's business to hear or create all the news he can. What he hears he embellishes by lies and exaggerations. Korea is the country of wild rumours. What a Korean knows, or rather hears, he tells. According to Père Dallet, he does not know the meaning of reserve, though he is utterly devoid of frankness. Men live in company in each other's houses. Domestic life is unknown. The women in the inner rooms receive female visitors, and the girl children are present. The boys at a very early age are removed to the men's apartments, where they learn from the conversation they hear that every man who respects himself must regard women with contempt.

We left Phyöng-yang for Po-san in a very small boat in which six people and their luggage were uncomfortably packed and cramped. One of the two boatmen was literally "down with fever," but with one and the strong ebb-tide we accomplished 20 miles in six hours, and were well pleased to find the *Hariong* lying at anchor, as we had

not been able to get any definite information concerning her, and I never believed in her till I saw her. The Tai-dŏng has some historic interest, for up its broad waters sailed Ki-ja or Kit-ze with his army of 5000 men on the way to found Phyŏng-yang and Korean civilisation, and down it fled Ki-jun, the last king of the first dynasty, from the forces of Wei-man descending from the north. Phyŏng-yang impressed me as it did Consul Carles with its natural suitability for commerce, and this Tai-dŏng, navigable up to the city for small junks, is the natural outlet for beans and cotton, some of which find their way to Newchwang for shipment, for the rich iron ore which lies close to the river-banks at Kai-chhŏn, for the gold of Keum San only 20 miles off, for the abounding coal of the immediate neighbourhood, for the hides, which are now carried on men's backs to Chemulpo, and for the products of what is said to be a considerable silk industry.

In going down the river something is seen of the original size of Phyŏng-yang, for the "earth wall" on solid masonry, built, it is said, by Kit-ze 3000 years ago, follows the right bank of the Tai-dŏng for about four miles before it turns away to the north, to terminate at the foot of the hill on which is the reputed grave of its builder. This extends in that direction possibly three miles beyond the present wall.

The plain through which the river runs is fertile and well cultivated, though the shining mud flats at low tide are anything but prepossessing. Various rivers, enabling boats of light draught to penetrate the country, most of them rising in the picturesque mountain ranges which descend on the plain, specially on its western side, join the Tai-dŏng.

Much had been said of the *Hariong*. I was told I "should be all right if I could get the *Hariong*," that "the *Hariong's* a most comfortable little boat—she has ten state-rooms," and as we approached her in the mist, very wet, and stiff from the length of time spent in a cramped position, I conjured up visions of comfort and even luxury which were not to be realised.

She was surrounded by Japanese junks, Japanese soldiers crowded her gangways, and Japanese officers were directing the loading. We hooked on to the junks and lay in the rain for an hour, nobody taking the slightest notice of us. Mr. Yi then scrambled on board and there was another half-hour's delay, which took us into the early darkness. He reappeared, saying there was no cabin and we must go on shore. But there was no place to sleep on shore and it was the last steamer, so I climbed on board and Im hurried in the baggage. It was raining and blowing, and we were huddled on the wet deck like steerage passengers, Japanese soldiers and commissariat officers there, as elsewhere in Korea, masters of the situation. Mr. Yi was frantic that he, a Government official, and one from whom "the Japanese had to ask a hundred favours a month," should be treated with such indignity! The vessel was hired by the Japanese commissariat department to go to Nagasaki, calling at Chemulpo, and we were really, though unintentionally, interlopers!

There was truly no room for me, and the arrangement whereby I received shelter was essentially Japanese. I lived in a minute saloon with the commissariat officers, and fed precariously, Im dealing out to me, at long intervals, the remains of a curry which he had had the forethought

to bring. There was a Korean purser, but the poor dazed fellow was "nowhere," being totally superseded by a brisk young mannikin who, in the intervals of business, came to me, note-book in hand, that I might help him to enlarge his English vocabulary. The only sign of vitality that the limp, displaced purser showed was to exclaim with energy more than once, "I hate these Japanese, they've taken our own ships."

Fortunately the sea was quite still, and the weather was dry and fine; even Yŏn-yūng Pa-da, a disagreeable stretch of ocean off the Whang Hai coast, was quiet, the halt of nearly a day off the new treaty port of Chin-nam-po where the mud flats extend far out from the shore, was not disagreeable, and we reached the familiar harbour of Chemulpo by a glorious sunset on the frosty evening of the third day from Po-san, the voyage in a small Asiatic transport having turned out better than could have been expected.

ITINERARY

Seoul to—	*Li.*
Ko-yang	40
Pa Ju	40
O-mok	40
Ohur-chuk Kio	30
Song-do	10
O-hung-suk Ju	30
Kun-ko Kai	30
Tol Maru	35
An-shung-pa Pal	25
Shur-hung	30
Hung-shou Wan	30
Pong-san	40

Seoul to—

	Li.
Whang Ju	40
Kur-moun Tari	30
Chi-dol-pa Pal	40
Phyöng-yang	30
Mori-ko Kai	30
Liang-yang Chang	30
Cha-san	30
Shou-yang Yi	40
Ha-kai Oil	35
Ka Chang	35
Hu-ok Kuri	40
Tok Chhön	30
Shur-chong	30
An-kil Yung	20
Shil-yi	40
Mou-chin Tai	25
Sun Chhön	35
Cha-san	30
Siang-yang Chhön	40
An-chin Miriok	30
Phyöng-yang	20
Total land journey	1060

CHAPTER XXXI

THE "TOP-KNOT"—THE KOREAN HEGIRA

THE year 1896 opened for Korea in a gloom as profound as that in which the previous year had closed. There were small insurrections in all quarters, various officials were killed, and some of the rebels threatened to march on the capital. Japanese influence declined, Japanese troops were gradually withdrawn from the posts they had occupied, the engagements of many of the Japanese advisers and controllers in departments expired and were not renewed, some of the reforms instituted by Japan during the period of her ascendency died a natural death, there was a distinctly retrograde movement, and government was disintegrating all over the land.

The general agitation in the country and several of the more serious of the outbreaks had a cause which, while to our thinking it is ludicrous, shows as much as anything else the intense conservatism of *pung-kŏk* or custom which prevails among the Koreans. The cause was an attack on the "Top-Knot" by a Royal Edict on 30th December 1895! This set the country aflame! The Koreans, who had borne on the whole quietly the ascendency of a hated

power, the murder of their Queen, and the practical imprisonment of their King, found the attack on their hair more than they could stand. The top-knot is more to a Korean than the queue is to a Chinese. The queue to the latter may be a sign of subjugation or of loyalty to the Government and that is all, and the small Chinese boy wears it as soon as his hair is long enough to plait.

To the Korean the Top-Knot means nationality, antiquity (some say of five centuries, others of 2000 years), sanctity derived from antiquity, entrance on manhood socially and legally, even though he may be a child in years, the assumption of two names by which in addition to his family name he is afterwards known, and by which he is designated on the ancestral tablets, marriage is intimately bound up with it, as is ancestral worship, and as has been mentioned in the chapter on marriage, a Korean without a Top-Knot, even if in middle life, can only be treated as a nameless and irresponsible boy. In a few cases a Korean, to escape from this stage of disrespect, scrapes together enough to pay for the Top-Knot ceremonies and the *mang-kun*, hat, and long coat, which are their sequence, though he is too poor to support a family, but the Top-Knot in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is only assumed on marriage, without which the wearer has the title of "a half-man" bestowed on him!

The ceremonies at the "Investiture of the Top-Knot" deserve a brief notice as among the most important of the singularities of the nation. When the father and family have decided that a boy shall be "invested," which in

nearly all cases is on the verge of his marriage, men's clothes, the hat, *mang-kun*, etc., are provided to the limits of the family purse, and the astrologers are consulted, who choose a propitious day and hour for the ceremony, as well as the point of the compass which the chief actor is to face during its progress. The fees of the regular astrologer are very high, and in the case of the poor, the blind sorcerer is usually called in to decide on these important points.

When the auspicious day and hour arrive the family assembles, but as it is a family matter only, friends are not invited. Luck and prosperity and a number of sons are essential for the Master of the Ceremonies. If the father has been so blessed he acts as such, if not, an old friend who has been more lucky acts for him. The candidate for the distinction and privileges of manhood is placed in the middle of the room, seated on the floor, great care being taken that he faces the point of the compass which has been designated, otherwise he would have bad luck from that day forward. With much ceremony and due deliberation the Master of the Ceremonies proceeds to unwind the boy's massive plait, shaves a circular spot three inches in diameter on the crown of his head, brings the whole hair up to this point, and arranges it with strings into a firm twist from two and a half to four inches in length, which stands up from the head slightly forwards like a horn. The *mang-kun*, fillet, or crownless skull-cap of horse-hair gauze, coming well down over the brow, is then tied on, and so tightly as to produce a permanent groove in the skin, and headaches for some time. The hat, secured by its strings, is then put on, and the long wide coat, and the

boy rises up a man.[1] The new man bows to each of his relations in regular order, beginning with his grandfather, kneeling and placing his hands, palms downward, on the floor, and resting his forehead for a moment upon them.

He then offers sacrifices to his deceased ancestors before the ancestral tablets, lighted candles in high brass candlesticks being placed on each side of the bowls of sacrificial food or fruit, and, bowing profoundly, acquaints them with the important fact that he has assumed the Top-Knot. Afterwards he calls on the adult male friends of his family, who for the first time receive him as an equal, and at night there is a feast in his honour in his father's house, to which all the family friends who have attained to the dignity of Top-Knots are invited.

The hat is made of fine "crinoline" so that the Top-Knot may be seen very plainly through it, and weighs only an ounce and a half. It is a source of ceaseless anxiety to the Korean. If it gets wet it is ruined, so that he seldom ventures to stir abroad without a waterproof cover for it in his capacious sleeve, and it is so easily broken and crushed, that when not in use it must be kept or carried in a wooden box, usually much decorated, as obnoxious in transit as a lady's band-box. The keeping on the hat is a mark of respect. Court officials appear in the sovereign's presence with their hats on, and the Korean only takes it off in the company of his most intimate friends. The *mang-kun* is a fixture. The Top-Knot is often decorated with a bead of jade, amber, or turquoise, and some of the young swells wear expensive tortoise-shell combs as its

[1] In chapter ix. p. 129, there is a short notice of what is involved in the transformation.

ornaments. There is no other single article of male equipment that I am aware of which plays so important a part, or is regarded with such reverence, or is clung to so tenaciously, as the Korean Top-Knot.

On an "institution" so venerated and time-honoured, and so bound up with Korean nationality (for the Korean, though remarkably destitute of true patriotism, has a strongly national instinct), the decree of the 30th of December 1895, practically abolishing the Top-Knot, fell like a thunderbolt. The measure had been advocated before, chiefly by Koreans who had been in America, and was known to have Japanese support, and had been discussed by the Cabinet, but the change was regarded with such disgust by the nation at large that the Government was afraid to enforce it. Only a short time before the decree was issued, three chief officers of the *Kun-ren-tai* entered the Council Chamber with drawn swords, demanding the instantaneous issue of an edict making it compulsory on every man in Government employment to have his hair cropped, and the Ministers, terrified for their lives, all yielded but one, and he succeeded for the time in getting the issue of it delayed till after the Queen's funeral. Very shortly afterwards, however, the King, practically a prisoner, was compelled to endorse it, and he, the Crown Prince, the Tai-Won-Kun, and the Cabinet were divested of their Top-Knots, the soldiers and police following suit.

The following day the *Official Gazette* promulgated a decree, endorsed by the King, announcing that he had cut his hair short, and calling on all his subjects, officials and common people alike, to follow his example and identify themselves with the spirit of progress which had induced His Majesty

to take this step, and thus place his country on a footing of equality with the other nations of the world!

The Home Office notifications were as follows:—

Translation

The present cropping of the hair being a measure both advantageous to the preservation of health and convenient for the transaction of business, our sacred Lord the King, having in view both administrative reform and national aggrandisement, has, by taking the lead in his own person, set us an example. All the subjects of Great Korea should respectfully conform to His Majesty's purpose, and the fashion of their clothing should be as set forth below:—

1. During national mourning the hat and clothing should, until the expiration of the term of mourning, be white in colour as before.
2. The fillet (*mang-kun*) should be abandoned.
3. There is no objection to the adoption of foreign clothing.

(Signed) YU-KIL CHUN,
Acting Home Minister.

11th moon, 15th day.

No. 2

In the Proclamation which His Majesty graciously issued to-day (11th moon, 15th day) are words, "We, in cutting Our hair, are setting an example to Our subjects. Do you, the multitude, identify yourselves with Our design, and cause to be accomplished the great work of establishing equality with the nations of the earth."

At a time of reform such as this, when we humbly peruse so spirited a proclamation, among all of us subjects of Great Korea who does not weep for gratitude, and strive his utmost? Earnestly united in heart and mind, we earnestly expect a humble conformity with His Majesty's purposes of reformation.

(Signed) YU-KIL CHUN,
Acting Home Minister.

504th year since the founding of the Dynasty,
11th moon, 15th day.

Among the reasons which rendered the Top-Knot decree detestable to the people were, that priests and monks, who, instead of being held in esteem, are regarded generally as a nuisance to be tolerated, wear their hair closely cropped, and the Edict was believed to be an attempt instigated by Japan to compel Koreans to look like Japanese, and adopt Japanese customs. So strong was the popular belief that it was to Japan that Korea owed the denationalising order, that in the many places where there were Top-Knot Riots it was evidenced by overt acts of hostility to the Japanese, frequently resulting in murder.

The rural districts were convulsed. Officials even of the highest rank found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. If they cut their hair, they were driven from their lucrative posts by an infuriated populace, and in several instances lost their lives, while if they retained the Top-Knot they were dismissed by the Cabinet. In one province, on the arrival from Seoul of a newly-appointed mandarin with cropped hair, he was met by a great concourse of people ready for the worst, who informed him that they had hitherto been ruled by a Korean man, and would not endure a "Monk Magistrate," on which he prudently retired to the capital.

All through the land there were Top-Knot complexities and difficulties. Countrymen, merchants, Christian catechists, and others, who had come to Seoul on business, and had been shorn, dared not risk their lives by returning to their homes. Wood and country produce did not come in, and the price of the necessaries of life rose seriously. Many men who prized the honour of entering the Palace gates at the New Year feigned illness, but were sent for

and denuded of their hair. The click of the shears was heard at every gate in Seoul, at the Palace, and at the official residences; even servants were not exempted, and some of the Foreign Representatives were unable to present themselves at the Palace on New Year's Day, because their chairmen were unwilling to meet the shears. A father poisoned himself from grief and humiliation because his two sons had submitted to the decree. The foundations of social order were threatened when the Top-Knot fell!

People who had had their hair cropped did not dare to venture far from Seoul lest they should be exposed to the violence of the rural population. At Chun Chhön, 50 miles from the capital, when the Governor tried to enforce the ordinance, the people rose *en masse* and murdered him and his whole establishment, afterwards taking possession of the town and surrounding country. As policemen with their shears were at the Seoul gates to enforce the decree on incomers, and peasants who had been cropped on arriving did not dare to return to their homes, prices rose so seriously by the middle of January 1896, that "trouble" in the capital was expected, and another order was issued that "country folk were to be let alone at that time."

Things went from bad to worse, till on the 11th of February 1896 the whole Far East was electrified by a sensational telegram—"The King of Korea has escaped from his Palace, and is at the Russian Legation."

On that morning the King and Crown Prince in the dim daybreak left the Kyeng-pok Palace in closed box chairs, such as are used by the Palace waiting-women,

passed through the gates without being suspected by the sentries, and reached the Russian Legation, the King pale and trembling as he entered the spacious suite of apartments which for more than a year afterwards offered him a secure asylum. The Palace ladies who arranged the escape had kept their counsel well, and had caused a number of chairs to go in and out of the gates early and late during the previous week, so that the flight failed to attract any attention. As the King does much of his work at night and retires to rest in the early morning, the ever-vigilant Cabinet, his gaolers, supposed him to be asleep, and it was not until several hours later that his whereabouts became known, when the organisation of a new Cabinet was progressing, and Korean dignitaries began to be summoned into the Royal presence.

The King, on gaining security, at once reassumed his long-lost prerogatives, which have never since been curbed in the slightest degree. The irredeemable Orientalism of the two following proclamations which were posted over the city within a few hours of his escape warrants their insertion in full:—

ROYAL PROCLAMATION

Translation

Alas! alas! on account of Our unworthiness and mal-administration the wicked advanced and the wise retired. Of the last ten years, none has passed without troubles. Some were brought on by those We had trusted as the members of the body, while others, by those of Our own bone and flesh. Our dynasty of five centuries has thereby been often endangered, and millions of Our subjects have thereby been gradually impoverished. These facts make Us blush and sweat for shame. But these troubles have been brought

about through Our partiality and self-will, giving rise to rascality and blunders leading to calamities. All have been Our own fault from the first to the last.

Fortunately, through loyal and faithful subjects rising up in righteous efforts to remove the wicked, there is a hope that the tribulations experienced may invigorate the State, and that calm may return after the storm. This accords with the principle that human nature will have freedom after a long pressure, and that the ways of Heaven bring success after reverses. We shall endeavour to be merciful. No pardon, however, shall be extended to the principal traitors concerned in the affairs of July 1894 and of October 1895. Capital punishment should be their due, thus venting the indignation of men and gods alike. But to all the rest, officials or soldiers, citizens or coolies, a general amnesty, free and full, is granted, irrespective of the degree of their offences. Reform your hearts; ease your minds; go about your business, public or private, as in times past.

As to the cutting of the Top-Knots—what can We say? Is it such an urgent matter? The traitors, by using force and coercion, brought about the affair. That this measure was taken against Our will is, no doubt, well known to all. Nor is it Our wish that the conservative subjects throughout the country, moved to righteous indignation, should rise up, as they have, circulating false rumours, causing death and injury to one another, until the regular troops had to be sent to suppress the disturbances by force. The traitors indulged their poisonous nature in everything. Fingers and hairs would fail to count their crimes. The soldiers are Our children. So are the insurgents. Cut any of the ten fingers, and one would cause as much pain as another. Fighting long continued would pour out blood and heap up corpses, hindering communications and traffic. Alas! if this continues the people will all die. The mere contemplation of such consequences provokes Our tears and chills Our heart. We desire that as soon as orders arrive the soldiers should return to Seoul and the insurgents to their respective places and occupations.

As to the cutting of Top-Knots, no one shall be forced as to dress and hats. Do as you please. The evils now afflicting the people

shall be duly attended to by the Government. This is Our own word of honour. Let all understand.

By order of His Majesty,

(Signed) PAK-CHUNG YANG,

Acting Home and Prime Minister.

11th day, 2nd moon, 1st year of Kon-yang.

PROCLAMATION TO THE SOLDIERS

On account of the unhappy fate of Our country, traitors have made trouble every year. Now We have a document informing us of another conspiracy. We have therefore come to the Russian Legation. The Representatives of different countries have all assembled.

Soldiers! come and protect us. You are Our children. The troubles of the past were due to the crimes of chief traitors. You are all pardoned, and shall not be held answerable. Do your duty and be at ease. When you meet the chief traitors, viz. Cho-hui Yen, Wu-pom Sun, Yi-tu Hwong, Yi-pom Nai, Yi-chin Ho, and Kon-yong Chin, cut off their heads at once, and bring them.

You (soldiers) attend us at the Russian Legation.

11th day, 2nd moon, 1st year of Kon-yang.

Royal Sign.

Following on this, on the same day, and while thousands of people were reading the repeal of the hair-cropping order, those of the Cabinet who could be caught were arrested and beheaded in the street—the Prime Minister, who had kept his place in several Cabinets, and the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The mob, infuriated, and regarding the Premier as the author of the downfall of the Top-Knot, gave itself up to unmitigated savagery, insulting and mutilating the dead bodies in a manner absolutely fiendish. Another of the Cabinet was rescued by Japanese soldiers, and the other traitorous members ran away. A Cabinet, chiefly new, was installed,

prison doors were opened, and the inmates, guilty and innocent alike, were released, strict orders were given by the King that the Japanese were to be protected, one having already fallen a victim to the fury of the populace, and before night fell on Seoul much of the work of the previous six months had been undone, and the Top-Knot had triumphed.[1]

How the Korean King, freed from the strong influence of the Queen and the brutal control of his mutinous officers, used his freedom need not be told here. It was supposed just after his escape that he would become "a mere tool in the hands of the Russian Minister," but so far was this from being the case, that before a year had passed it was greatly desired by many that Mr. Waeber would influence him against the bad in statecraft and in favour of the good, and the cause of his determination not to bias the King in any way remains a mystery to this day.

The roads which led to the Russian Legation were guarded by Korean soldiers, but eighty Russian marines were quartered in the compound and held the gates, while a small piece of artillery was very much *en évidence* on the terrace below the King's windows! He had an abundant *entourage*. For some months the Cabinet occupied the ball-room, and on the terrace and round the King's apartments there were always numbers of Court officials and servants of all grades, eunuchs, Palace women, etc., while the favourites, the ladies Om and Pak, who assisted in his escape, were constantly to be seen in his vicinity.

[1] When I last saw the King this national adornment seemed to have resumed its former proportions.

Revelling in the cheerfulness and security of his surroundings, the King shortly built a Palace (to which he removed in the spring of 1897), surrounding the tablet-house of the Queen, and actually in Chong-dong, the European quarter, its grounds adjoining those of the English and U.S. Legations. To the security of this tablet-house the remains of the Queen, supposed to consist only of the bones of one finger, were removed on a lucky day chosen by the astrologers with much pomp.

On this occasion a guard of eighty Russian soldiers occupied a position close to the Royal tent, not far from one in which the Foreign Representatives, with the noteworthy exception of the Japanese Envoy, were assembled. Rolled-up scroll portraits of the five immediate ancestors of the King, each enclosed in a large oblong palanquin of gilded fretwork, and preceded by a crowd of officials in old Court costume, filed past the Royal tent, where the King did obeisance, and the Russian Guard presented arms. This was only the first part of the ceremony.

Later a colossal catafalque, containing the fragmentary remains of the murdered Queen, was dragged through the streets from the Kyeng-pok Palace by 700 men in sackcloth, preceded and followed by a crowd of Court functionaries, also in mourning, and escorted by Korean drilled troops. The King and Crown Prince received the procession at the gate of the new Kyeng-wun Palace, and the hearse, after being hauled up to the end of a long platform outside the Spirit Shrine, was tracked by ropes (for no hand might touch it) to the interior, where it rested

under a canopy of white silk, and for more than a year received the customary rites and sacrifices from the bereaved husband and son. The large crowd in the streets was orderly and silent. The ceremony was remarkable both for the revival of picturesque detail and of practices which it was supposed had become obsolete, such as the supporting of officials on their ponies by retainers, or when on foot by having their arms propped up.

In July 1896, Mr. J. M'Leavy Brown, LL.D., Chief Commissioner of Customs, received by Royal decree the absolute control of all payments out of the Treasury, and having gained considerable insight into the complexities of financial corruption, addressed himself in earnest to the reform of abuses, and with most beneficial results.

In September a Council of State of fourteen members was substituted for the Cabinet of Ministers organised under Japanese auspices, a change which was to some extent a return to old methods.

Many of the attempts made by the Japanese during their ascendency to reform abuses were allowed to lapse. The country was unsettled, a "Righteous Army" having replaced the Tong-haks. The Minister of the Household and other Royal favourites resumed the practice of selling provincial and other posts in a most unblushing manner after the slight checks which had been imposed on this most deleterious custom, and the sovereign himself, whose Civil List is ample, appropriated public moneys for his own purposes, while, finding himself personally safe, and free from Japanese or other control, he reverted in many ways to the traditions of his dynasty, and in spite of attempted

checks upon his authority, reigned as an absolute monarch —his edicts law, his will absolute. Meanwhile Japan was gradually effacing herself or being effaced, and whatever influence she lost in Korea, Russia gained, but the advantages of the change were not obvious.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE REORGANISED KOREAN GOVERNMENT[1]

THE old system of Government in Korea, which, with but a few alterations and additions, prevailed from the founding of the present dynasty until the second half of 1894, was modelled on that of the Ming Emperors of China. The King was absolute as well in practice as in theory, but to assist him in governing there was a *Eui-chyeng Pu*, commonly translated Cabinet, composed of a so-called Premier, and Senior and Junior Ministers of State, under whom were Senior and Junior Chief Secretaries, and Senior and Junior Assistant Secretaries, with certain minor functionaries, the Government being conducted through Boards as in China, viz. Civil Office, Revenue, Ceremonies, War, Punishment, and Works, to which were added, after the opening of the country to foreigners, Foreign and Home

[1] The chapters on the Reorganised Korean Government—Education, Trade, and Finance—and Dæmonism are intended to aid in the intelligent understanding of those which precede them. The reader who wishes to go into the subject of the old and the reorganised systems of Korean Government will find a mass of curious and deeply-interesting detail in a volume entitled *Korean Government*, by W. H. Wilkinson, Esq., lately H.B.M.'s Acting Vice-Consul at Chemulpo, published by the Statistical Department of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs at Shanghai in March 1897. To it I am very greatly indebted.

Offices. During the present reign the Home Office, under the Presidency of a powerful and ambitious cousin of the Queen, Min Yeng-chy'un, began to draw to itself all administrative power, while Her Majesty's and his relations, who occupied the chief positions throughout the country, fleeced the people without restraint. Of the remaining offices which were seated in the Metropolis the chief were the Correctional Tribunal, an office of the first rank which took cognisance of the offences of officials, and the Prefecture of Seoul which had charge of all municipal matters.

Korea was divided into eight Provinces, each under the control of a Governor, aided by a Civil and Military Secretary. Magistrates of different grades according to the size of the magistracies were appointed under him, five fortress cities, however, being independent of provincial jurisdiction. The principal tax, the land-tax, was paid in kind, and the local governments had very considerable control over the local revenues. There were provincial military and naval forces with large staffs of officers, and Boards, Offices, and Departments innumerable under Government, each with its legion of supernumeraries.

The country was eaten up by officialism. It is not only that abuses without number prevailed, but the whole system of Government was an abuse, a sea of corruption without a bottom or a shore, an engine of robbery, crushing the life out of all industry. Offices and justice were bought and sold like other commodities, and Government was fast decaying, the one principle which survived being its right to prey on the governed.

The new order of things, called by the Japanese the "Reformation," dates from the forcible occupation of the Kyeng-

pok Palace by Japanese troops on the 23rd of July 1894. The constitutional changes which have subsequently been promulgated (though not always carried out) were initiated by the Japanese Minister in Seoul, and reduced to detail by the Japanese "advisers" who shortly arrived; and Japan is entitled to the credit of having attempted to cope with and remedy the manifold abuses of the Korean system, and of having bequeathed to the country the lines on which reforms are now being carried out. It was natural, and is certainly not blameworthy, that the Japanese had in view the assimilation of Korean polity to that of Japan.

To bring about the desired reorganisation, Mr. Otori, at that time the Japanese Minister, induced the King to create an Assembly, which, whatever its ultimate destiny, was to form meanwhile a Department for "the discussion of all matters grave and trivial within the realm." The Prime Minister was its President, and the number of its members was limited to twenty Councillors. A noteworthy feature in connection with it was that it invited suggestions from outsiders in the form of written memoranda.

It met for the first time on the 30th of July 1894, and for the last on the 29th of October of the same year. It was found impossible, either by payment or Royal orders, to secure a quorum; and after the Vice-Minister of Justice, one of the few Councillors who took an active part in the proceedings, was murdered two days after the last meeting, as was believed, by an agent of the reactionary party, it practically expired, and was dissolved by Royal Decree on the 17th of December 1894, and a reconstituted Privy Council took its place. Those of its Resolutions however, which had

received the Royal assent became law, and unless repealed or superseded are still binding.

These Resolutions appeared in the *Government Gazette*, an institution of very old standing, imitated, like most things else, from China. This was prepared by the Court of Transmission, a Palace Department, the senior members of which formed the channel of communication between the King and the official body at large, and who, while other high officials could only reach the throne by means of personal memorials or written memoranda, were privileged to address the King *viva voce*, and through whom as a rule his commands were issued. Each day this Department collected the various memoranda and memorials, the Royal replies and the lists of appointments, copies of which when edited by it formed the *Gazette*, which was furnished in MS. to officials throughout the kingdom. The Royal Edicts when published in this paper became law in Korea.

In July 1894 Mr. Otori made the useful innovation of publishing the *Gazette* in clear type, and in the following January it appeared in a mixture of Chinese hieroglyphs and *En-mun*, the "vulgar script" of Korea, and became intelligible to the common people. No special change was made at that time, except that the Resolutions of the Deliberative Assembly were included in it. Later changes have assimilated it farther to the Government *Gazette* of Japan, and it has gained rather than lost in importance. Gradually a diminution of the power of the Court of Transmission began to show itself. Its name was changed to the Receiving Office, and members of the Cabinet and the Correctional Tribunal began to enjoy direct access to the King. In April 1895 a farther

change in a Japanese direction, and one of great significance in Korean estimation, was made, the date of the *Gazette* being given thus:—

"No. 1.—504th year of the Dynasty, 4th moon, 1st day, Wood-day."[1]

Two months later farther changes in the official *Gazette* were announced, and the programme then put forward has been adhered to, paving the way for many of the changes which have followed. It is difficult to make the importance of the *Gazette* intelligible, except to foreigners who have resided in China and Korea. The reason for dwelling so long upon it is, that for several centuries the publication in it of Royal Edicts has given them the force of law and the currency of Acts of Parliament.

In the pages which follow a brief summary is given of the outlines of the scheme for the reorganisation of the Korean Government, which was prepared for the most part by the Japanese advisers, honorary and salaried, who have been engaged on the task since 1894, and which has been accepted by the King.

The first change raised the status of the King and the Royal Family to that of the Imperial Family of China. After this, it was enacted, following on the King's Oath of January 1895, that the Queen and Royal Family were no longer to interfere in the affairs of State, and that His Majesty would govern by the advice of a Cabinet, and sign all ordinances to which his assent is given. The Cabinet, which was, at least nominally, located in the

[1] Wood-day is the term adopted by the Japanese for Thursday, their week, which has now been imposed on the Koreans, being Sun-day, Moon-day, Fire-day, Water-day, Wood-day, Metal-day, and Earth-day.

Palace, had two aspects—a Council of State, and a State Department, presided over by the Premier.

As the Council of State

The members of the Cabinet or Ministers of State were the Premier, the Home Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Finance Minister, the War Minister, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Justice, and the Minister of Agriculture, Trade, and Industry. A Foreign Adviser is supposed to be attached to each of the seven Departments.

Ministers in Council were empowered to consider—the framing of laws and ordinances; estimates and balance-sheets of yearly revenue and expenditure; public debt, domestic and foreign; international treaties and important conventions; disputes as to the respective jurisdictions of Ministers; such personal memorials as His Majesty might send down to them; supplies not included in the estimates; appointments and promotions of high officials, other than legal or military; the retention, abolition, or alteration of old customs; abolition or institution of offices, and, without reference to their special relations to any one Ministry, their reconstruction or amendment; the imposition of new taxes or their alteration; and the control and management of public lands, forests, buildings, and vessels. All ordinances after being signed and sealed by the King required the countersign of the Premier.

The second function of the Cabinet as a Department of State it is needless to go into.

A Privy Council was established at the close of 1894

to take the place of the Deliberative Assembly which had collapsed, and is now empowered, when consulted by the Cabinet, to inquire into and pass resolutions concerning—

I. The framing of laws and ordinances.

II. Questions which may from time to time be referred to it by the Cabinet.

The Council consists of a President, Vice-President, not more than fifty Councillors, two Secretaries, and four Clerks. The Councillors are appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Premier, and must either be men of rank, or those who have done good service to the State, or are experts in politics, law, or economics. The Privy Council is prohibited from having any correspondence on public matters with private individuals, or with any officials but Ministers and Vice-Ministers. The President presides. Two-thirds of the members must be present to form a quorum. Votes are given openly, resolutions are carried by a majority, and any Councillor dissenting from a resolution so carried has a right to have his reasons recorded in the minutes.

In the autumn of 1896 some important changes were made. A Decree of the 24th of September condemned in strong language the action of "disorderly rebels, who some three years ago revolutionised the Constitution," and changed the name of the King's advising body. The decree ordained that the old name, translated Council of State, "should be restored, and declared that new regulations would be issued, which, while adhering to ancient principles, would confirm such of the enactments of the previous three years as in the King's judgment were for

the public good." The Council of State was organised by the first ordinance of a new series, and the preamble, as well as one at least of the sections, marks a distinctly retrograde movement and a reversion to the absolutism renounced in the King's Oath of January 1895.[1] It is distinctly stated that "any motion debated at the Council may receive His Majesty's assent, without regard to the number of votes in its favour, by virtue of the Royal prerogative; or, should the debates on any motion not accord with His Majesty's views, the Council may be commanded to reconsider the matter." Resolutions which the King approves, on publication in the *Gazette*, become law.

Thus perished the checks which the Japanese sought to impose on the absolutism of the Crown, and at the present time the Royal will (or whim) can and does override all else.

This *Eui-chyeng Pu* or Council, like the *Nai Kak*, its predecessor, is both a Council of State and a State Department presided over by the Chancellor. The members of the Council of State are the Chancellor, the Home Minister, who is, *ex officio*, Vice-Chancellor, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Justice, and Agriculture, five Councillors, and the Chief Secretary. As a State Department under the Chancellor, the staff consists of the "Director of the General Bureau," the Chancellor's Private Secretary, the Secretary, and eight clerks.

The Council of State, as now constituted, is empowered to pass resolutions concerning the enactment, abrogation, alteration, or interpretation of laws or regulations; peace

[1] See p. 35.

and war and the making of treaties; restoration of domestic order; telegraphs, railways, mines, and other undertakings, and questions of compensation arising therefrom; the estimates and special appropriations; taxes, duties, and excise; matters sent down to the Council by special command of the Sovereign; publication of laws and regulations approved by the King.

The King, if he so pleases, is present in person, or may send the Heir-Apparent to represent him. The Chancellor presides, two-thirds of the members form a quorum, motions are carried by a numerical majority, and finally a memorial stating in outline the debate and its issue is submitted by the Chancellor to the King, who issues such commands as may seem to him best, for, as previously stated, His Majesty is not bound to acquiesce in the decision of the majority.

The *Eui-chyeng Pu* as a Department of State through the "Director of the General Bureau" has three sections—Archives, Gazette, and Accounts—and is rather a recording than an initiating office.

The scheme for the reconstruction of the Provincial and Metropolitan Governments has introduced many important changes and retrenchments. The thirteen Provinces are now divided into 339 Prefectures, Seoul having a Government of its own. The vast *entourage* of provincial authorities has been reduced, and a Provincial Governor's staff is now limited, nominally at least, to six clerks, two chief constables, thirty police, ten writers, four ushers, fifteen messengers, eight coolies, and eight boys. Ordinances under the head of "Local Government" define the jurisdiction, powers, duties, period of office, salaries, and

etiquette[1] of all officials, along with many minor matters. It is in this Department that the reforms instituted by the Japanese are the most sweeping. Very many offices were abolished, and all Government property belonging to the establishments of the officials holding them was ordered to be handed over to officers of the new *régime*. A Local Government Bureau was established with sections, under which local finance in cities and towns and local expenditure of every kind were to be dealt with. An Engineering Bureau dealing with civil engineering and a Land Survey, a Registration Bureau dealing with an annual census of the population and the registration of lands, a Sanitary Bureau, and an Accounts Bureau form part of the very ambitious Local Government scheme, admirable on paper, and which, if it were honestly carried out, would strike at the roots of many of the abuses which are the curse of Korea. The whole provincial system as reorganised is under the Home Office.

An important part of the new scheme is the definition

[1] *Official Intercourse.* Ord. 45 amends some old practices regulating the intercourse and correspondence of officials. The etiquette of the official call by a newly-appointed Prefect on the Governor, on the whole, is retained, although it is in some respects simplified. The old fashion obliged the Magistrate to remain outside the *yamen* gate, while a large folded sheet of white paper inscribed with his name was sent in to the Governor. The latter thereupon gave orders to his personal attendants or ushers to admit the Magistrate. The *t'oin*, as they were commonly styled, called out "*Sa-rycng*," to which the servants chanted a reply. The Governor being seated, the Magistrate knelt outside the room and bowed to the ground. To this obeisance the Governor replied by raising his arms over his head. The Magistrate was asked his name and age, given some stereotyped advice, and dismissed. The Governor is for the future to return the bow of the Prefect, and conversation is to be conducted in terms of mutual respect, the Magistrate describing himself as *ha-koan* ("your subordinate"), and addressing the Governor by his title.

of the duties and jurisdiction of the Ministers of State. The Cabinet Orders dealing with the duties and discipline of officials at large so far issued are—

Order 1. General rules for the conduct of public business.
„ 3. Memorabilia for officials.
„ 4. Resumption of office after mourning.
„ 5. Reprimand and correction.
„ 6. Obligation to purchase the *Gazette*.
„ 7. Memorials to be on ruled paper.

The management of public offices under the new system is practically the same as the Japanese.

The *Memorabilia for Officials* are as follows:—

(*a*) No official must trespass outside his own jurisdiction.

(*b*) Where duties have been deputed to a subordinate, the latter must not be continually interfered with.

(*c*) A subordinate ordered to do anything which in his opinion is irregular or irrelevant should expostulate with his senior. If the latter holds by his opinion, the junior must conform.

(*d*) Officials must be straightforward and outspoken, and not give outward acquiescence while privately criticising or hindering their superiors.

(*e*) Officials must not listen to suggestions from outsiders or talk with them on official business.

(*f*) Officials must be frank with one another, and not form cliques.

(*g*) No official must wilfully spread false rumours about another or lightly credit such.

(*h*) No official must absent himself from office without permission during office hours, or frequent the houses of others.

Resolution 88, passed some months earlier, was even more explicit:—

Officials are thereby forbidden to divulge official secrets even when

witnesses in a court of law, unless specially permitted to do so ; or to show despatches to outsiders. They are not allowed to become directors or managers in a public company ; to accept compensation from private individuals or gifts from their subordinates ; to undertake, without permission, extra work for payment ; or to put to private use Government horses. They may receive honours or presents from foreign Sovereigns or Governments only with the special sanction of His Majesty.

An ordinance restored the use of the uniforms worn prior to the "Reformation," whether Court dress, full dress, half-dress, or undress, and announced that neither officials nor private persons were to be compelled any longer to wear black.

Each Department is presided over by a Minister, who is empowered to issue Departmental Orders, as Instructions to the local officials and police, and Notifications to the people. His jurisdiction over the police and local officials is concurrent with that of his colleagues, who must also be consulted by him before recommending to the Throne the promotion or degradation of the higher officials of his Departmental Staff.

Under the Minister is a Vice-Minister, empowered to act for him on occasion, and, when doing so, possessing equal privileges. The Vice-Minister is usually the head of the Minister's Secretariat, which deals with "confidential matters, promotions, custody of the Minister's and Departmental Seals, receipt and despatch of correspondence, and consultation of precedents, preparation of statistics, compilation and preservation of archives."

In addition to the Secretariats, there are a number of Bureaux, both Secretariats and Bureaux being, for con-

venience, subdivided into sections, each of which has its special duties.

The Departments of Government are as follows:—

Home Office

The Home Minister has charge of matters concerning local government, police, gaols, civil engineering, sanitation, shrines and temples, surveying, printing census, and public charity, as well as the general supervision of the local authorities and the police.

Foreign Office

The Foreign Minister is vested with the control of international affairs, the protection of Korean commercial interests abroad, and the supervision of the Diplomatic and Consular Services.

The Treasury

"The Minister for Finance, being vested with the control of the finances of the Government, will have charge of all matters relating to accounts, revenue, and expenditure, taxes, national debts, the currency, banks, and the like, and will have supervision over the finances of each local administration" (Ord. 54, § 1).

Under this Minister there is a Taxation Bureau with three sections—Land-Tax, Excise, and Customs.[1] The

[1] The finances of Korea are now practically under British management, Mr. J. M'Leavy Brown, LL.D., of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, and Chief Commissioner of Customs for Korea, having undertaken in addition the post of Financial Adviser to the Treasury, and a Royal Edict having been issued that every order for a payment out of the national purse, down to the smallest, should be countersigned by him.

ordinances connected with the remodelled system of taxation and the salaries and expenses of officials are very numerous and minute. The appropriation actually in money for the Sovereign's Privy Purse was fixed at $500,000.

War Office

The Minister for War, who must be a general officer, has charge of the military administration of an army lately fixed at 6000 men, and the chief control of men and matters in the army, and is to exercise supervision over army divisions, and all buildings and forts under his Department. The new military arrangements are very elaborate.

Ministry of Education

In this important Department, besides the Minister and Vice-Minister and heads of Bureaux and Sections, there are three special Secretaries who act as Inspectors of Schools, and an official specially deputed to compile and select text-books.

Besides the Minister's Secretariat, there are the *Education Bureau*, which is concerned with primary, normal, intermediary, foreign language, technical and industrial schools, and students abroad; and a *Compilation Bureau*, concerned with the selection, translation, and compilation of text-books; the purchase, preservation, and arrangement of volumes, and the printing of books.

Under this Department has been placed the Confucian College, an institution of the old *régime*, the purpose of which was to attend to the Temple of Literature, in which,

as in China, the Memorial Tablets of Confucius, Mencius, and the Sages are honoured, and to encourage the study of the classical books. The subjects for study are the "Three Classics," "Four Books and Popular Commentary," Chinese Composition, Outlines of Chinese History—of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming Dynasties. To meet the reformed requirements, this College has been reorganised, and the students, who must be between the ages of twenty and forty, "of good character, persevering, intelligent, and well acquainted with affairs," are in addition put through a course of Korean and foreign annals, Korean and foreign geography, and arithmetic.

Ministry of Justice

The Minister of Justice has charge of judicial matters, pardons and restorations to rank, instructions for public prosecution, and supervision over Special Courts, High Courts, and District Courts; and the Department forms a High Court of Justice for the hearing of certain appeals.

Ministry of Agriculture, Trade, and Industry

The Minister of Agriculture has charge of all matters relating to agriculture, commerce, industries, posts, telegraphs, shipping, and marine officers.

In this Department, besides the Minister's Secretariat, there are Bureaux of Agriculture, Communications, Trade, Industry, Mining, and Accounts. The Bureau of Agriculture contains Agricultural, Forest, and Natural Products sections; that of Communications, Post, Telegraph, and Marine sections; and that of Trade and Industry deals with Commerce, Trading Corporations, Weights and Measures,

Manufactures, and Factories. The Mining Bureau has sections for Mines and Geology, and the Bureau of Accounts deals with the inventories and expenditure of the Department.

The Village System

Besides the Reorganisation of these important Departments of State, a design for a "Village System," organised as follows, is to supersede that which had decayed with the general decay of Government in Korea.

The country is now divided into districts (*Kun*), each *Kun* containing a number of *myen* or cantons, each of which includes a number of *ni* or villages. The old posts and titles are abolished, and each village is now to be provided with the following officers:—

1. *Headman.*—He must be over thirty years of age, and is elected for one year by the householders. The office is honorary.

2. *Clerk.*—He holds office under the same conditions as the Headman, under whom he keeps the books and issues notices.

3. *Elder.*—Nominated by the householders, he acts for the Headman as occasion demands.

4. *Bailiff.*—Elected at the same time as the Headman, he performs the usual duties of a servant or messenger, and holds office for a year on good behaviour.

The corresponding officers of the canton (commune) are a *Mayor*, a *Clerk*, a *Bailiff*, and a *Communal Usher* who is irremovable except for cause given, and is, like the other officials, elected by the canton.

A Village Council is composed of the Headman and one

man from each family, and is empowered to pass resolutions on matters connected with education, registration of households or lands, sanitation, roads and bridges, communal grain exchanges, agricultural improvements, common woods and dykes, payment of taxes, relief in famine or other calamity, adjustment of the *corvée*, savings associations, and bye-laws. The Headman, who acts as chairman, has not only a casting vote, but the power to veto. A resolution passed over the veto of the Headman has to be referred to the Mayor, and over the veto of the Mayor to the Prefect. If passed twice over the veto of the Prefect, reference may be made to the Governor. All resolutions, however, must be submitted twice a year to the Home Office, through the Prefect and Governor; and it is incumbent on the Prefectural Council to sit at least twice in the year.

Taxes are by a law of 13th October 1895 classified as Land-Tax, Scutage, Mining Dues, Customs Dues, and Excise. Excise is now made to include, besides ginseng dues, what are known as "Miscellaneous Dues," viz. rent of glebe lands, tax on rushes used in mat-making, market dues on firewood and tobacco, tax on kilns, tax on edible seaweed, tax on grindstones, up-river dues, and taxes on fisheries, salterns, and boats. All other imposts have been declared illegal. The first Korean Budget under the reformed system was published in January 1896, and showed an estimated revenue from all sources of $4,809,410.

The Palace Department underwent reorganisation, nominally at least, and elaborate schemes for the administration of Royal Establishments, State Temples, and Mausolea were devised, and the relative rank of members of the Royal Clan,

including ladies, was fixed—the ladies of the King's Seraglio being divided into eight classes, and those of the Crown Prince into four. The number of Court officials attached to the different Royal Households, though diminished, is legion.

Various ordinances brought the classification of Korean officials into line with those of Japan. Every class in the country, private and official, has come into the purview of the Reorganisers, and finds its position (*on paper*) more or less altered.

Among the more important of the Edicts which have nominally become law are the following:—

Agreements with China cancelled. Distinctions between Patrician and Plebeian abolished. Slavery abolished. Early Marriages prohibited. Remarriage of widows permitted. Bribery to be strictly forbidden. No one to be arrested without warrant for civil offences. Couriers, mountebanks, and butchers no longer to be under degradation. Local Councils to be established. New coinage issued. Organisation of Police force. No one to be punished without trial. Irregular taxation by Provincial Governments forbidden. Extortion of money by officials forbidden. Family of a criminal not to be involved in his doom. Great modifications as to torture. Superfluous Paraphernalia abolished. School of Instruction in Vaccination. Hair-cropping Proclamation. Solar Calendar adopted. "Drilled Troops" (*Kun-ren-tai*) abolished. Legal punishments defined. Slaughter-Houses licensed. Committee of Legal Revision appointed. Telegraph Regulations. Postal Regulations. Railways placed under Bureau of Communications. These ordinances are a selection from among several hundred promulgated since July 1894.

Of the reforms notified during the last three and a half years several have not taken effect; and concerning others there has been a distinctly retrograde movement, with a tendency to revert to the abuses of the old *régime;* and others which were taken in hand earnestly have gradually collapsed, owing in part to the limpness of the Korean character, and in part to the opposition of all in office and of all who hope for office to any measures of reform. Some, admirable in themselves, at present exist only on paper; but, on the whole, the reorganised system, though in many respects fragmentary, is a great improvement on the old one; and it may not unreasonably be hoped that the young men, who are now being educated in enlightened ideas and notions of honour, will not repeat the iniquities of their fathers.

CHAPTER XXXIII

EDUCATION—TRADE—FINANCE

KOREAN education has hitherto failed to produce patriots, thinkers, or honest men. It has been conducted thus. In an ordinary Korean school the pupils, seated on the floor with their Chinese books in front of them, the upper parts of their bodies swaying violently from side to side or backwards and forwards, from daylight till sunset, vociferate at the highest and loudest pitch of their voices their assigned lessons from the Chinese classics, committing them to memory or reciting them aloud, writing the Chinese characters, filling their receptive memories with fragments of the learning of the Chinese sages and passages of mythical history, the begoggled teacher, erudite and supercilious, rod in hand and with a book before him, now and then throwing in a word of correction in stentorian tones which rise above the din.

This educational mill grinding for ten or more years enabled the average youth to aspire to the literary degrees which were conferred at the *Kwa-ga* or Royal Examinations held in Seoul up to 1894, and which were regarded as the stepping-stones to official position, the great object of Korean ambition. There is nothing in this education to develop

the thinking powers or to enable the student to understand the world he lives in. The effort to acquire a difficult language, the knowledge of which gives him a mastery of his own, is in itself a desirable mental discipline, and the ethical teachings of Confucius and Mencius, however defective, contain much that is valuable and true, but beyond this little that is favourable can be said.

Narrowness, grooviness, conceit, superciliousness, a false pride which despises manual labour, a selfish individualism destructive of generous public spirit and social trustfulness, a slavery in act and thought to customs and traditions 2000 years old, a narrow intellectual view, a shallow moral sense, and an estimate of women essentially degrading, appear to be the products of the Korean educational system.

With the abolition of the Royal Examinations; a change as to the methods of Government appointments; the working of the Western leaven;[1] the increased prominence given to *En-mun*, and the slow entrance of new ideas into the country, some of the desire for this purely Chinese education has passed away, and it has been found necessary to stimulate what threatened to become a flagging interest in all education by new educational methods and forces, the influence of which should radiate from the capital.

There are now (October 1897) Government Vernacular Schools, a Government School for the study of English, Foreign Language Schools, and Mission Schools. Outside the Vernacular and Mission Schools there is the beforementioned Royal English School, with 100 students in uniform, regularly drilled by a British Sergeant of Marines, and crazy about football! These young men, in appearance,

[1] See Appendix D.

manners, and rapid advance in knowledge of English, reflect great credit on their instructors. After this come Japanese, French, and Russian Schools, at present chiefly linguistic. Mr. Birukoff, in charge of the Russian School, was a captain of light artillery in the Russian army, and in both the Russian and French schools the students are drilled daily by Russian drill-instructors.

Undoubtedly the establishment which has exercised and is exercising the most powerful educational, moral, and intellectual influence in Korea is the Pai Chai College ("Hall for the rearing of Useful Men"), so named by the King in 1887. This, which belongs to the American Methodist Episcopal Church, has had the advantage of the services of one Principal, the Rev. H. G. Appenzeller, for eleven years. It has a Chinese-*En-mun* department, for the teaching of the Chinese classics, Sheffield's *Universal History*, etc., a small theological department, and an English department, in which reading, grammar, composition, spelling, history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy are taught. Dr. Jaisohn, a Korean educated in America, has recently lectured once a week at this College on the geographical divisions of the earth and the political and ecclesiastical history of Europe, and has awakened much enthusiasm. A patriotic spirit is being developed among the students, as well as something of the English public school spirit with its traditions of honour. This College is undoubtedly making a decided impression, and is giving, besides a liberal education, a measure of that broader intellectual view and deepened moral sense which may yet prove the salvation of Korea. Christian instruction is given in

Korean, and attendance at chapel is compulsory. The pupils are drilled, and early in 1897, during the military craze, adopted a neat European military uniform. There is a flourishing industrial department, which includes a trilingual press and a bookbinding establishment, both of which have full employment.

Early in 1895 the Government, recognising the importance of the secular education given in this College, made an agreement by which it could place pupils up to the number of 200 there, paying for their tuition and the salaries of certain tutors.

There are other schools for girls and boys, in which an industrial training is given, conducted with some success by the same Mission, and the American Presbyterians have several useful schools, and pay much attention to the training of girls.

The *Société des Missions Étrangères* has in Seoul an Orphanage and two Boys' Schools, with a total of 262 children. The principal object is to train the orphans as good Roman Catholics. In the Boys' Schools the pupils are taught to read and write Chinese and *En-mun*, and to a limited extent they study the Chinese classics. The religious instruction is given in *En-mun*. They aim at providing a primary education for the children of Korean converts.

The boys in the Orphanage are taught *En-mun* only, and at thirteen are adopted by Roman Catholics in Seoul or the country, and learn either farming or trades, or, assuming their own support, enter a trade or become servants. The elder girls learn *En-mun*, sewing, and housework, and at fifteen are married to the sons of Roman Catholics. At

Riong San near Seoul there is a Theological Seminary for the training of candidates for the priesthood.

Besides these there is a school established in 1896 by the "Japanese Foreign Educational Society," which is composed chiefly of "advanced" Japanese Christians. The course of study embraces the Chinese classics, *En-mun*, composition, the study of Japanese as a medium for the study of Western learning, and lectures on science and religion. This school was intended by its founders to work as a Christian propaganda.

In 1897 there were in Seoul nearly 900 students, chiefly young men, in Mission and Foreign Schools, inclusive of 100 in the Royal English School, which has English teachers. In the majority of these the students are trained in Christian morality, fundamental science, general history, and the principles of patriotism. A certain amount of denationalisation is connected with most of the Boys' Schools, for the students necessarily receive new ideas, thoughts, and views of life, which cannot be shaken out of them by any local circumstances, changing their standpoints and the texture of their minds for life. When they replace the elder generation better things may be expected for Korea.

The Korean reformed ideas of education, which had their origin during the Japanese reform era, embrace the creation of a primary school system, an efficient Normal College, and Intermediate Schools. Actually existing under the Department of Education are a revived Confucian School, the Royal English School, and the Normal College, placed in May 1897 under the very efficient care of the Rev. H. B. Hulbert, M.A., a capable and scholarly man,

some of whose contributions to our knowledge of Korean poetry and music have enriched earlier chapters of these volumes. Text-books in *En-mun* and teachers who can teach them have to be created. It is hoped and expected that supply will follow demand, and that in a few years the larger provincial towns will possess Intermediate or High Schools, and the villages attain the advantages of elementary schools, all using a uniform series of text-books in the vernacular. Chinese finds its place in the curriculum, but not as the medium for teaching Korean and general history, or geography and arithmetic, which must be acquired through the native tongue.

In spite of the somewhat spasmodic and altogether unscientific methods of the Education Department, it has succeeded in getting the revived Normal College under way, as well as a fair number of primary schools, where over 1000 boys are learning the elements of arithmetic, geography, and Korean history, with brief outlines of the systems of government in other civilised countries. Seventy-seven youths are studying in Japan at Government expense, and have made fair progress in languages, but are said to show a lack of mathematical aptitude and logical power. Altogether the Korean educational outlook is not without elements of hopefulness.

Though the Foreign Trade of Korea only averages something less than £1,500,000 annually, the potential commerce of a country with not less than 12,000,000 of people, all cotton-clad, ought not to be overlooked. The amount of foreign trade which exists is the growth of thirteen years only, but when we remember that Korea is a purely

agricultural country of a very primitive and backward type, that many of her finest valleys are practically isolated by mountain ranges, traversed by nearly impassable roads, that the tyranny of custom is strong, that the Korean farmer is only just learning that a profitable and almost unlimited demand exists for his rice and beans across the sea, that the serious cost of his cotton clothing can be kept down by importing foreign yarn or piece goods, and that his comfort can be increased by the introduction of articles of foreign manufacture, and that such facts are only slowly entering the secluded valleys of the Hermit Kingdom, the actual bulk of the trade is rather surprising, and its possibilities are worth considering. The net imports of foreign goods have increased from the value of $2,474,189 in 1886 to $6,531,324 in 1896.[1] Measured in dollars, the trade of 1896 exceeds that of any previous year except 1895, when the occupation of Korea by Japanese troops, with their large following of transport coolies, created an artificial expansion.

Among Korean exports, which chiefly consist of beans, fish (dried manure), cow-hides, ginseng, paper, rice, and seaweed, there are none which are likely to find a market elsewhere than in China and Japan, but Korea, so far as rice goes, is on the way to become the granary of the latter country, her export in 1890 having reached the value of £271,000.

With imports, European countries, India, and America are concerned. Without, I think, being over sanguine, I anticipate a time when, with improved roads, railroads, and enlightenment, together with security for the earnings of

[1] For detailed statistics of Korean Foreign Trade, see Appendix C.

labour from official and patrician exactions, the Korean will have no further occasion for protecting himself by an appearance of squalid poverty, and when he will become on a largely increased scale a consumer as well as a producer, and will surround himself with comforts and luxuries of foreign manufacture, as his brethren are already doing under the happier rule of Russia. Under the improved conditions which it is reasonable to expect, I should not be surprised if the value of the Foreign Trade of Korea were to reach £10,000,000 in another quarter of a century, and the share which England is to have of it is an important question.

Our great competitor in the Korean markets is Japan, and we have to deal not only with a rival within twenty hours of Korean shores, and with nearly a monopoly of the carrying trade, but with the most nimble-witted, adaptive, persevering, and pushing people of our day. It is inevitable that British hardware and miscellaneous articles must be ousted by the products of Japanese cheaper labour, and that the Japanese will continue to supply the increasing demand for scissors, knives, matches, needles, hoes, grass knives, soap, perfumes, kerosene lamps, iron cooking pots, nails, and the like, but the loss of the trade in cotton piece goods would be a serious matter, and the possibility of it has to be faced.

The value of the import trade in 1896 was £708,461, as against £875,816 for 1895 (an exceptional year), and the larger part of this reduction took place in articles of British manufacture, the decrease of £134,304 in the value of cotton imports falling almost entirely on cottons of British origin, the Japanese import not only retaining

its position in spite of adverse circumstances, but showing a slight increase. Japanese sheetings showed a substantial increase, more than counterbalanced by the diminished import of the British and American article, and Japanese cotton yarn continued to arrive in larger quantities, and is gradually driving British and Indian yarn out of the Korean market. It can be sold at a considerably lower price than the British article, and practically at the same price as the Indian, with which its improved quality enables it to compete on very favourable terms.

As the result of inquiries carried on during my two journeys in the interior, as well as at the treaty ports, it does not appear to me that Japanese success is even chiefly caused by proximity, and in 1896 she had to compete with the enterprise and energy of the Chinese, who, having returned after the war to the benefits of British protection, were pushing the distribution of Manchester goods imported from Shanghai.

Rather I am inclined to think that the success of our rival is mainly due to causes which I have seen in operation in Persia and Central Asia as well as in Korea, and which embrace not only imperfect knowledge of the tastes and needs of customers, but the neglect to act upon information supplied by consular and diplomatic agents, a groovy adherence to British methods of manufacture, and the ignoring of native desires as to colours, patterns, and the widths and makes which suit native clothing and treatment, and the size of bales best suited to native methods of transport. I do not allude to the charge ofttimes made against our manufacturers of supplying inferior cottons, because I have never seen any indications of its correctness,

nor have I heard any complaints on the subject either in Korea or China, but of the ignoring of the requirements of customers there is no doubt. It is everywhere a grievance and source of loss, and is likely to lose us the prospective advantages of the Korean market.

The Japanese success, putting the advantages of proximity aside, is, I believe, mainly due to the accuracy of the information obtained by their keen-witted agents, who have visited all the towns and villages in Korea, and to the carefulness with which their manufacturers are studying the tastes and requirements of the Korean market. Their goods reach the shore in manageable bales, which do not require to be adapted after arrival to the minute Korean pony, and their price, width, length, and texture commend them to the Korean consumer. The Japanese understand that cotton 18 inches wide is the only cotton from which Korean garments can be fashioned without very considerable waste, and they supply the market with it; and on the report of the agents of the importing firms, the weavers of Osaka and other manufacturing towns with adroitness and rapidity closely adapted the texture, width, and length of their cottons to those of the hand-loom cotton goods made in South Korea, which are deservedly popular for their durability, and have succeeded not only in producing an imitation of Korean cotton cloth, which stands the pounding and beating of Korean washing, but one which actually deceives the Korean weavers themselves as to its origin, and which has won great popularity with the Korean women. If Korea is to be a British market in the future, the lost ground must be recovered by working on Japanese lines, which are the lines of commercial common sense.

To sum up, I venture to express the opinion that the circumstances of the large population of Korea are destined to gradual improvement with the aid of either Japan or Russia, that foreign trade must increase more or less steadily with increased buying powers and improved means of transport, and that the amount which falls to the share of Great Britain will depend largely upon whether British manufacturers are willing or not to adapt their goods to Korean tastes and convenience.

As instances of the aptitude of the Koreans for taking to foreign articles which suit their needs, it may be mentioned, on the authority of a report from the British Consul-General to the British Foreign Office on Trade and Finance in Korea for 1896, presented to Parliament July 1897, that the import of lucifer matches reached the figure of £11,386,[1] while that of American and Russian kerosene exceeded £36,000.

In 1896 the export of gold increased, and was $1,390,412, one million dollars' worth being exported from Wŏn-san alone. The gold export included, the excess of Korean imports over exports was only about £50,000, and as it is estimated that only one-half of the gold actually leaving the country is declared, it may be assumed that Korea is able to pay for a larger supply of foreign goods than she has hitherto taken. The statistics of Korean Foreign Trade which are to be found in the Appendix are the latest returns, supplied to me by the courtesy of the Korean Customs Department,[2] the returns of shipping and

[1] This seems incredible, and compels one to suppose that £ is a misprint for $.

[2] See Appendix B.

of principal articles of export and import being taken from H.B.M.'s Consul-General's Report for 1896, presented to Parliament July 1897.[1] With reference to the shipping returns, it must be observed that the British flag is practically unrepresented in Korean waters, even a chartered British steamer being rarely seen. The monopoly of the carrying trade which Japan has enjoyed has only lately been broken into by the establishment of a Russian subsidised line as a competitor.

In addition to the trade of the three ports open to Foreign Trade in 1896, to which the returns given refer exclusively, there is that carried on by the non-treaty ports, and on the Chinese and Russian frontiers.

In concluding this brief notice of the Foreign Trade of Korea, I may remark that Japanese competition, so far as it consists in the ability to undersell us owing to cheaper labour, is likely to diminish year by year, as the conditions under which goods can be manufactured gradually approximate to those which exist in England; the rapidly increasing price of the necessaries of life in Japan, the demand for more than "a living wage," and an appreciation of the advantages of combination all tending in this direction.

On the subject of Finance there is little to be said. The principal items of revenue are a land-tax of six dollars on a fertile *kyel*, and five dollars on a mountain *kyel*, a house-tax of 60 cents annually, from which houses in the capital are exempt, the ginseng-tax, and the gold-dues, making up a budget of about 4,000,000 dollars, a sum amply sufficient for the legitimate expenditure of the country. The land-tax is extremely light. Only about a third of the revenue

[1] See Appendix C.

actually collected reaches the National Treasury, partly owing to the infinite corruption of the officials through whose hands it passes, and partly because provincial income and expenditure are to a certain extent left to local management. If the Government is in earnest in the all-important matter of educating the people, the increased expenditure can readily be met by imposing taxation on such articles of luxury as wine and tobacco, which are enormously consumed, Seoul alone possessing 475 wine shops and 1100 tobacco shops. But even without resorting to any new source of revenue, with strict supervision and regular accounts the income of the Central Government is capable of considerable expansion.

In spite of the awful official corruption which has been revealed, and the chaos which up to 1896 prevailed in the Treasury, the Korean financial outlook is a hopeful one. At the close of 1895 the King persuaded Mr. M'Leavy Brown, LL.D., the Chief Commissioner of Customs, to undertake the thankless office of Adviser to the Treasury, confirming his position some months later by the issue of an edict making his signature essential to all orders for payments out of the national purse. Korean imagination and ingenuity are chiefly fertile in devising tricks and devices for getting hold of public money, and anything more hydra-headed than the dishonesty of Korean official life cannot be found, so that it is not surprising that as soon as the foreign adviser blocks one nefarious proceeding another is sprung upon him, and that the army of useless drones, deprived of their "vested interests" by the judicious retrenchments which have been made, as well as thousands who are trembling for their ill-gotten gains,

should oppose financial reform by every device of Oriental ingenuity.

However, race, as represented by the honour and capacity of one European, is carrying the day, and Korean Finance is gradually being placed on a sound basis. With careful management, judicious retrenchments of expenditure, the reduction of the chaos in the Treasury to an orderly system of accounts, and a different method of collecting the land-tax, which is now being remitted with tolerable regularity to the Treasury, an actual financial equilibrium was established and maintained during the year 1896, which closed with a considerable surplus, and in April 1897 one million dollars of the Japanese loan of three millions was repaid to Japan, and there is every prospect that the remaining indebtedness might be paid off out of income in 1899, leaving Korea in the proud position of a country without a national debt, and with a surplus of income over expenditure!

The prosperous financial conclusion of 1896 is all the more remarkable because of certain exceptional expenditures. Two new regiments were added to the army, the old Arsenal, a disused costly toy, was put into working order, with all necessary modern improvements, under the supervision of a Russian machinist, the Kyeng-wun Palace was built, costly ceremonies and works connected with the late Queen's prospective funeral were paid for, and a considerable area of western Seoul was recreated. All civil Government *employés* (and they are legion), as well as soldiers and police, are paid regularly every month, and sinecures are very slowly disappearing.

A Korean silver, copper, and brass coinage, convenient

as well as ornamental, is coming into general circulation, and as it gradually displaces *cash*, is setting trade free from at least one of the conditions which hampered it, and increased banking facilities are tending in the same direction.

CHAPTER XXXIV

KOREAN DÆMONISM OR *SHAMANISM*

KOREAN cities without priests or temples; houses without "god-shelves"; village festivals without a *mikoshi* or idols carried in festive procession; marriage and burial without priestly blessing; an absence of religious ceremonials and sacred books to which real or assumed reverence is paid, and nothing to show that religion has any hold on the popular mind, constitute a singular Korean characteristic.

Putting aside Buddhism with its gross superstitions, practised chiefly in remote places, and the magisterial homage before the Confucian tablets to the memory of the Great Teacher, the popular cult—I dare not call it a religion—consists of a number of observances dictated by the dread of bodiless beings created by Korean fancy, and representing chiefly the mysterious forces of nature. It may be assumed, taking tradition for a guide, as certain of the litanies used in exorcism and invocation were introduced along with Buddhism from China, that Korean imagination has grafted its own fancies on those which are of foreign origin, and which are of by no means distant kinship to those of the *Shamanism* of northern Asia.

The external evidences of this cult are chiefly heaps of stones on the tops of passes, rude shrines here and there containing tawdry pictures of mythical beings, with the name in Chinese characters below, strings from which depend small bags of rice, worn-out straw shoes, strips of dirty rags, and, though rarely, rusty locks of black hair. Outside of many villages are high posts (not to be confounded with the distance posts) with their tops rudely carved into heads and faces half human, half dæmonic, from which straw ropes, with dependent straw tassels, recalling the Shintoism of Japan, are stretched across the road. There are large or distorted trees also, on which rags, rice-bags, and old shoes are hung, and under which are heaps of stones at which it is usual for travellers to bow and expectorate. On the ridge poles of royal buildings and city gates there are rows of grotesque bronze or china figures for the purpose of driving away evil dæmons, and at cross-roads a log of wood perforated like a mouse-trap, and with one hole bunged up, over which travellers step carefully, may sometimes be seen. In cities the beating of drums accompanied by the clashing of cymbals vies with the laundry sticks in breaking the otherwise profound stillness of night, and in travelling through the country, the *mu-tang* or sorceress is constantly to be seen going through various musical and dancing performances in the midst of a crowd in front of a house where there is sickness.

I have referred to these things in earlier chapters, but the subject is such an important one, and the influence on Korean life of the belief in dæmons is so strong and injurious, that I feel justified in laying before my readers at some length such details of *Dæmonism* as have hitherto

been ascertained. There is an unwillingness to speak to foreigners on this topic, and inquirers may have been purposely misled, but enough has been gained to make it likely that further inquiry will be productive of very valuable results.[1] The superstitions already mentioned, however trivial in themselves, point to that which underlies all religion, the belief in something outside ourselves which is higher or more powerful than ourselves.

It is indeed asserted by many of the so-called educated class that the only cult in Korea is ancestor-worship, and they profess to ridicule the rags, cairns, shrines, and the other paraphernalia of dæmon-worship, as the superstition of women and coolies, and it is probable that, in Seoul at least, few men of the upper class are believers, or patronise the rites otherwise than as unmeaning customs which it would be impolitic to discontinue; but it is safe to say that from the Palace to the hovel all women, and a majority of men, go through the forms which, influencing Buddhism, and possibly being modified by it, have existed in Korea for more than fifteen centuries.

Without claiming any degree of scientific accuracy for the term *Shamanism*, as applied to this cult in Korea, it is more convenient to use it, the word dæmon having come to bear a popular meaning which prohibits its use where good spirits as well as bad are indicated. So far as I know, *Shamanism* exists only in Asia, and flourishes

[1] I desire again to express my indebtedness to the Rev. G. Heber Jones, of Chemulpo, for the loan of, and the liberty to use, his very careful and painstaking notes on the subject of Korean dæmonism, and also to a paper on *The Exorcism of Spirits in Korea*, by Dr Landis of Chemulpo. Apart from the researches of these two Korean scholars, the results of my own inquiry and observation would scarcely have been worth publishing.

specially among the tribes north of the Amur, the Samoyedes, Ostiaks, etc., as well as among hill tribes on the south-western frontier of China. The term *Shaman* may be applied to all persons, male or female, whose profession it is to have direct dealings with dæmons, and to possess the power of securing their good-will and averting their malignant influences by various magical rites, charms, and incantations, to cure diseases by exorcisms, to predict future events, and to interpret dreams.

Korean *Shamanism* or Dæmonism differs from that of northern Asia in its mildness, possibly the result of early Buddhist influence. It is the cult of dæmons not necessarily evil, but usually the enemies of man, and addicted to revenge and caprice. Though the *Shamans* are neither an order, nor linked by a common organisation, they are practically recognised as a priesthood, in so far as it is through their offices that the dæmons are approached and propitiated on behalf of the people. It is supposed that the *Shaman* or wizard was one of the figures in the dawn of Korean history, and that Dæmonism in its early stage was marked by human sacrifices. *Shamans* in the train of royalty, and as a part of the social organisation of the Peninsula, figure in very early Korean story, and they appear to have been the chief, if not the only, "religious" instructors.

One class among the *Shamans* is incorporated into one of those guilds which are the Trades Unions of Korea, and the Government has imposed registration on another class.[1]

[1] What is true in Korea to-day may be untrue to-morrow. One month there was a police raid in Seoul upon the *mu-tang* or sorceresses, another the sisterhood was flourishing; and so the pendulum swings.

There are now two principal classes of *Shamans*, the *Pan-su* and the *mu-tang*. The *Pan-su* are blind sorcerers, and those parents are fortunate who have a blind son, for he is certain to be able to make a good living and support them in their old age. The *Pan-su* were formerly persons of much distinction in the kingdom, but their social position has been lowered during the present dynasty, though in the present reign their influence in the Palace, and specially with the late Queen, has wrought much evil. The chief officials of the *Pan-su* Guild in Seoul hold the official titles of *Cham-pan*[1] and *Seung-ji* from the Government, which gives prestige to the whole body. In order to guard their professional interests, the *Pan-su* have local guilds, and in the various sections "club-houses" built out of their own funds. The central office of the *Pan-su* guild in Seoul was built and maintained by Government, and the two chief officials of the guild hold, or held, *quasi*-official rank.

It appears that admission into the fraternity is only granted to an applicant on his giving proof of proficiency in the knowledge of a cumbrous body of orally-transmitted *Shaman* tradition, wisdom and custom, much of it believed by the people to be 4000 years old, and embracing scraps of superstition from the darkest arcana of Buddhism, as well as fragments of Confucianism. The neophyte has to learn of "the existence, nature, and power of dæmons, their relations with man, the efficacy of exorcism through a magic ritual, and the genuine and certain character of the results of divination." He must meditate on "the

[1] *Cham-pan* is a title of officials of a certain rank in Government Departments in Seoul, and might be rendered Secretary of Department. *Seung-ji* probably has the same meaning.

customs, habits, and weaknesses of every class in Korean society, in order to deal knowingly with his clients. A slight acquaintance with Confucianism must enable him to give a flavour of learning to his speech, and he must be well drilled in the methods of exorcisms, incantations, magic spells, divination, and the manufacture of charms and amulets."

The services of sorcerers or geomancers are invariably called for in connection with the choice of sites for houses and graves, in certain contracts, and on the occasion of unusual calamities, sickness, births, marriages, and the purchase of land. The chief functions of the *Shaman* are, the influencing of dæmons by ritual and magical rites, propitiating them by offerings, exorcisms, and the procuring of oracles. In their methods, dancing, gesticulations, a real or feigned ecstasy, and a drum play an important part. The fees of the *Shaman* are high, and it is believed that, at the lowest computation, Dæmonism costs Korea two million five hundred thousand dollars annually! In order to obtain favours or avert calamities, it is necessary to employ the *Shamans* as mediators, and it is their fees, and not the cost of the offerings, which press so heavily on the people.

Among the reasons which render the *Shaman* a necessity are these. In Korean belief, earth, air, and sea are peopled by dæmons. They haunt every umbrageous tree, shady ravine, crystal spring, and mountain crest. On green hill-slopes, in peaceful agricultural valleys, in grassy dells, on wooded uplands, by lake and stream, by road and river, in north, south, east, and west, they abound, making malignant sport out of human destinies. They are on

every roof, ceiling, fireplace, *kang* and beam. They fill the chimney, the shed, the living room, the kitchen—they are on every shelf and jar. In thousands they waylay the traveller as he leaves his home, beside him, behind him, dancing in front of him, whirring over his head, crying out upon him from earth, air, and water. They are numbered by *thousands of billions*, and it has been well said that their ubiquity is an unholy travesty of the Divine Omnipresence.[1] This belief, and it seems to be the only one he has, keeps the Korean in a perpetual state of nervous apprehension, it surrounds him with indefinite terrors, and it may truly be said of him that he "passes the time of his sojourning here in fear." Every Korean home is subject to dæmons, here, there, and everywhere. They touch the Korean at every point in life, making his well-being depend on a continual series of acts of propitiation, and they avenge every omission with merciless severity, keeping him under this yoke of bondage from birth to death.

The phrase "dæmon-worship" as applied to Korean *Shamanism* is somewhat misleading. These legions of spirits which in Korean belief people the world, are of two classes, the first alone answering to our conception of dæmons. These are the self-existent spirits, unseen enemies of man, whose designs are always malignant or malicious, and spirits of departed persons, who, having died in poverty and manifold distresses, are unclothed, hungry, and shivering vagrants, bringing untold calamities on those who neglect to supply their wants. It is true, however, that about 80 per cent of the legions of spirits are malignant. The second class consists also of self-

[1] Rev. G. H. Jones.

existent spirits, whose natures are partly kindly, and of departed spirits of prosperous and good people, but even these are easily offended and act with extraordinary capriciousness. These, however, by due intercessions and offerings, may be induced to assist man in obtaining his desires, and may aid him to escape from the afflictive power of the evil dæmons. The comfort and prosperity of every individual depend on his ability to win and keep the favour of the latter class.

Koreans attribute every ill by which they are afflicted to dæmoniacal influence. Bad luck in any transaction, official malevolence, illness, whether sudden or prolonged, pecuniary misfortune, and loss of power or position, are due to the malignity of dæmons. It is over such evils that the *Pan-su* is supposed to have power, and to be able to terminate them by magical rites, he being possessed by a powerful dæmon, whose strength he is able to wield.

As an example of the *modus operandi*, exorcism in sickness which is believed to be the work of an unclean dæmon may be taken. The *Pan-su* arrives at the house, and boldly undertakes the expulsion of the foul spirit, the process being divided into four stages.[1]

1. By a few throws from the tortoise divining box, the sorcerer discovers the dæmon's nature and character, after which he seeks for an auspicious hour and makes arrangements for the next stage.

2. Gaining control of the dæmon follows. The *Pan-su* equips himself with a wand of oak or pine a foot and half

[1] This detailed account is from notes kindly lent to me by the Rev. G. H. Jones.

long, and a bystander is asked to hold this in an upright position on an ironing stone. Magic formulas are recited till the rod begins to shake and even dance on the stone, this activity being believed to be the result of the dæmon having entered the wand. At this stage a talk takes place to test the accuracy of the divination of the dæmon's name and nature, and of the cause of the affliction. The *Pan-su* manages the questions so dexterously that a simple yes is indicated by motion in the wand, while no is expressed by quiescence. At this stage the dæmon is given the choice of quietly disappearing; after which, if he is obstinate, the *Pan-su* proceeds to dislodge him.

3. The third stage involves the aid of certain familiars of the *Pan-su*. A special wand, made of an eastern branch of a peach tree, which has much repute in expelling dæmons, is taken, and is held on a table in a vertical position by an assistant. The *Pan-su* recites a farther part of his magic ritual, its power being shown by acute movements in the wand in spite of attempts to keep it steady. A parley takes place with the *Chang-gun*, the spirit who has been summoned to find out his objects. He promises to catch the *Chang-kun*, the malignant dæmon, and after preparations and offerings have been made he is asked to search for him. The man who holds the wand is violently dragged by a supernatural power out of the house to the place where the *Chang-kun* is. Then the *Chang-gun* is supposed to seize him, and the wand-holder is dragged back to the house.

4. A bottle with a wide mouth is put on the floor, and alongside it a piece of paper inscribed with the name of the unclean dæmon, which has been obtained by divination

and parley. The paper being touched with the magic wand jumps into the bottle, which is hastily corked and buried on the hill-side or at the cross-roads.

This singular form of exorcism has a long and unintelligible ritual, in the cases of those who can afford to pay for it occupying some days, and at greater or lesser length is repeated daily by the *Shamans* throughout Korea. It is usually succeeded by a form known as the Ritual of Pacification, which takes a whole night. This is for the purpose of restoring order among the household dæmons, who have been much upset by the previous proceedings, cleaning the house, and committing it and its inmates to the protection of the most powerful members of the Korean dæmoniacal hierarchy.

The instruments of exorcism used by the *Pan-su* are offerings to be made at various stages of the process, a drum, cymbals, a bell, a divination box, and a wand or wands.

The *Shamans* claim to have derived many of their very numerous spells and formulas from Buddhists, who on their side assert that dæmon-worship was practised in Korea long before the introduction of Buddhism, and a relic of this worship is pointed out in the custom which prevails in the Korean magistracies of offering to guardian spirits on stone altars on the hills, pigs, or occasionally sheep, before sowing time and after harvest, as well as in case of drought, or other general calamity. This sacrifice is offered by the local magistrate in the king's name, and though identical in form with that offered to *Hananim* (the Lord of Heaven) is altogether distinct from it. Most of the formulæ recited by the *Shamans* have the reputation of being unsafe for

ordinary people to use, but in consideration of the possibility of a great emergency, one is provided, which is pronounced absolutely safe. This consists of fifty-six characters which must be recited forwards, backwards, and sideways, and is called "The twenty-eight stars formula."[1]

Divination is the second function of the *Pan-su*, and consists in a forecast of the future by means of rituals, known only to himself, associated with the use of certain paraphernalia. This is used also for finding out the result of a venture, or the cause of an existing trouble, and for casting a man's horoscope, *i.e.* "The four columns of a man's future," these being the hour, day, month, and year of his birth, or rather their four combinations. This horoscope is the crowning function of divination. In these "four columns" the secret of a man's life is hidden, and their relations must govern him in all his actions. When a horoscope contains an arrow, which denotes ill-luck, the *Pan-su* corrects the misfortune by formulæ used with a bow of peach, with which during the recital he shoots arrows made of a certain reed into a "non-prohibited" quarter. One of the great duties of divination is to cast the horoscope of a bride and bridegroom for an auspicious day for the wedding, for an unlucky one would introduce dæmons to the ruin of the new household.

The great strongholds of divination are the "Frog-Boxes" and dice-boxes, manufactured for this purpose. The frog-box is made like a tortoise, having movable lips, and contains three *cash*, over which the *Pan-su* repeats a

[1] "The twenty-eight constellations, or stellar mansions, referred to in the *Shu King*, one of the Chinese classical books, showing the close connection between Chinese and Korean superstition."—W. C. H.

very ancient invocation, which has been translated thus: "Will all you people grant to reveal the symbols." The coins are thrown three times, and the three falls present him with the combinations of characters, out of which he manufactures his oracle. The second implement of divination is a bamboo or brass tube closed at both ends, but with a small hole in one to allow of the exit of small bamboo splinters of which it contains eight. The same thing is to be seen on innumerable altars in China. Each splinter has from one to eight notches on it, and stands for a symbol of certain signs on that divining table 3000 years old, called the *Ho-pai*, which is implicitly believed in by the Chinese. Two of these splinters give two sets of characters, eight being connected with each symbol. When the *Pan-su* has obtained these he is ready to evolve his oracle.

Great reliance is placed on the charms which the *Pan-su* make and sell. Probably there are few adults or children who do not wear these as amulets. They are generally made in the form of insects, or consist of Chinese characters. They are written on specially-prepared yellow paper in red ink, and are regarded as being efficacious against illness and other calamities. Amulets are made of the wood of trees struck by lightning, which is supposed to possess magical qualities.

CHAPTER XXXV

NOTES ON DÆMONISM IN KOREA

Concluded

THE second and larger division of the *Shamans* consists of the *mu-tang*. Though the *Pak-su Mu*, who are included among the *mu-tang*, are men, the female idea prevails so largely that these wear female clothing in performing their functions, and the whole class has the name of *mu-tang*, and is spoken of as female.

The *mu-tang* is universally prevalent, and her services are constantly and everywhere sought. She enters upon an office regarded as of high importance with very little ceremonial, requiring only a little instruction from some one who has practised magic, and the "supernatural call." This call, of which much is made, consists in the assurance of dæmoniacal possession, the dæmon being supposed to seize upon the woman, and to become in fact her *döppel ganger*, so completely is his personality superimposed on hers. The dæmon is almost invariably a member of the Korean "*Dæmoneon*." Mr. Jones mentions a woman who claims that her indwelling dæmon is known as the spirit *Chil-song Shin*, supposed to come from the constellation of *Ursa Major*, and he brought with him a legion of other

dæmons, from which the *mu-tang* derive their honorific title, *Man-shin*, a Legion of Spirits. This woman in her early married life was ill for three years, and had frequent visions of the spirit, and heard but resisted the "call." When at last she yielded she was immediately cured, and was received into favour with the spirit!

On obeying a dæmon-call the woman snaps every tie of custom or relationship, deserts parents, husband, or children, and obeys the "call" alone. Her position from that hour is a peculiar one, for while she is regarded as indispensable to the community she is socially an outcast. In the curious relations of the Shamanate, the *Pan-su* is obviously the Master of the Dæmons, gaining power, by cabalistic formulæ or ritual to drive them off, or even bury them, while the *mu-tang* supplicates and propitiates them. It is impossible to live in a place which has not a *mu-tang Shaman*.

The functions of the *mu-tang* are more varied than those of the *Pan-su*, but on a par with his exorcisms may be placed her *Kauts* or Pacifications and Propitiations of dæmons, which are divided into the occasional and periodic, the latter being Dæmon Festivals, one public the other private. The public one is a triennial *festa* celebrated either by a large village or by an aggregation of hamlets, and occupies three or four days. Its object is the tutelary dæmon of the neighbourhood, and its methods are sacrifice, petition, worship, and thanksgiving. The villagers choose two of their number to take entire charge of the festival, and by them a tax for expenses is levied on the vicinity. They also choose the festival day, hire the *mu-tang*, and arrange for the paraphernalia and the offerings to the

dæmons. It is essential that the festival day should be chosen by divination, by either a *Sŏn-li* or a *Pan-su* acquainted with magic, and that the sorcerers should bathe frequently and abstain from animal food for seven previous days.

The village dæmon festival has a resemblance at some points to the Shinto *matsuri* of Japan. On the *festa* day a booth, much decorated with tags of brilliant colour, is erected near the dæmons' shrine, and with an accompaniment of *mu-tang* music, dancing, and lavish and outlandish gesticulations, the offerings are presented to the spirits. The popular belief is that the dæmons become incarnate in the *mu-tang*, who utter oracles called *Kong-su Na-ta*, and the people bring them bowls of uncooked rice, and plead for a revelation of their future during the following three years. A common "test" at this festival is the burning a tube of very thin white paper in a bowl. Its upper end is lighted by the *mu-tang*, who recites her spells as it burns. When it reaches the rim of the bowl, if the augury for the future be unfavourable, the paper burns away in the bowl, if favourable, the paper lifts itself and is blown away.

The private *festa*, the *Chŏl-muri Kaut*, one of thanksgiving to the household dæmons, is necessary to secure a continuance of their good offices. The expenditure of the family resources on this occasion is so lavish as frequently to impoverish the household for a whole year. This *festa* may be biennial or triennial. At the time a pig is sacrificed, offerings are made, *mu-tang* are hired, and the fetishes of the dæmons are renewed or cleaned. The Ritual for these occasions, if unabbreviated, lasts several days, but among

the poor only a selection from it is used. Its stages consist of rituals of invocation, petition, offering, and purification. While these are being recited a household spirit becomes incarnate in the *mu-tang,* and through her makes oracular revelations of the future. At another stage deceased parents and ancestors appear in the *mu-tang,* and her personation of them is described by an eye-witness as both "pathetic and ludicrous." At Seoul this festival is observed by families at the dæmon shrines outside the city walls, and not in private houses.

One of the very common occasions which requires the presence of a *mu-tang* is the ceremonial known as the Rite of Purification, defilement being contracted by a birth or death or any action which brings in an unclean dæmon, whose obnoxious entrance moves the guardian or friendly dæmons to leave the house. A wand cut from a pine tree to the *east* of the house is used to bring about their return. It is set working by the muttered utterance of special spells or formulæ by the *mu-tang,* the *mont-gari,* or tutelary spirit, is found, and by means of prayers and offerings is induced to resume his place, and the unclean dæmon is exorcised and expelled. The beating of a drum and the frequent sprinkling of pure water are portions of this rite.

The utterance of oracles is another great function of the *mu-tang.* In spite of the low opinion of women held by the Koreans, so strong is the belief in the complete dæmoniacal possession of the *mu-tang,* and their consequent elevation above their sex, that the Koreans refer fully as much to them as to the *Pan-su* for information regarding the outcome of commercial ventures, and of projects of personal advancement, as well as for the hidden causes of

the loss of wealth or position, or of adversity or illness. The *mu-tang*, by an appeal to her familiar dæmon, in some cases obtains a direct answer, and in others a reply by the divining chime, or the rice divination. The latter consists of throwing down some grains of rice on a table and noting the combinations which result. The "divining chime" is a hazel wand with a circle of bells at one end. These are shaken violently by the *mu-tang*, and in the din thus created she hears the utterance of the dæmon.

The arranging for the sale of children to dæmons is a further function of the *mu-tang*, and is carried on to a very great extent. The Korean father desires prosperity and long life for his boy (a girl being of little account), and the sale of the child to a spirit is he believes the best way of attaining his object. When the so-called sale has been decided on, the father consults the sorceress as to when and where it shall be made. The place chosen is usually a boulder near home, and the child is there "consecrated" to the dæmon by the *mu-tang* with fitting rites. Thenceforward, on the 15th day of the 1st moon, and the 3rd day of the 3rd moon, worship and sacrifice are offered to the boulder. After this act of sale the name of the dæmon becomes part of the boy's name. It is not an unusual thing for the sale to be made to the *mu-tang* herself, who as the proxy of her dæmon accepts the child in case she learns by a magic rite that she may do so. She takes in its stead one of its rice bowls and a spoon, and these, together with a piece of cotton cloth on which the facts concerning the sale of the child are written, are laid up in her own house in the room devoted to her dæmon. There is a famous *mu-tang*, whose house I have been in just

outside the south gate of Seoul, who has many of these, which are placed on tables below the painted daubs of dæmons ordinarily, but which, on great occasions, are used as banners. At the Periodic Festivals offerings are made on behalf of these children, who, though they live with their parents, know the sorceress or *mu-tang* as *Shin*, and are considered her children.

The *mu-tang* rites are specially linked with the house dæmon and with *Mama* the smallpox dæmon. The house dæmon is on the whole a good one, being supposed to bring health and happiness, and if invited with due ceremony he is willing to take up his abode under every roof. He cannot always keep off disease, and in the case of contagious fevers, etc., he disappears until the rite of purification has been accomplished and he has been asked to return. The ceremonies attending his recall deserve notice. On this great occasion the *mu-tang* in office ties a large sheet of paper round a rod of oak, holds it upright, and goes out to hunt him. She may find him near, as if waiting to be invited back, or at a considerable distance, but in either case he makes his presence known by shaking the rod so violently that several men cannot hold it still, and then returns with the *mu-tang* to the house, where he is received with lively demonstrations of joy. The paper which was round the stick is folded, a few *cash* are put into it, it is soaked in wine, and is then thrown up against a beam in the house to which it sticks, and is followed by some rice which adheres to it. That special spot is the abiding place of the dæmon. This ceremony involves a family in very considerable expense.

The universal belief that illness is the work of dæmons

renders the services of a *Pan-su* or *mu-tang* necessary wherever it enters a house, and in the case of smallpox, the universal scourge of Korean childhood, the dæmon, instead of being exorcised, bottled, or buried, is treated with the utmost respect. The name by which the disease is called, "*Mama*," is the dæmon's name. It is said that he came from South China, and has infested Korea for only 1000 years. On the disease appearing, the *mu-tang* is called in to honour the arrival of the spirit with a feast and fitting ceremonial. Little or no work is done, and if there are neighbours whose children have not had the malady, they rest likewise, lest, displeased with their want of respect, he should deal hardly with them. The parents do obeisance (worship) to the suffering child, and address it at all times in honorific terms. Danger is supposed to be over after the 12th day, when the *mu-tang* is again summoned, and a farewell banquet is given. A miniature wooden horse is prepared, and is loaded for the spirit's journey with small bags of food and money, fervent and respectful adieus are spoken, and he receives hearty good wishes for his prosperous return to his own place!

In the course of many centuries the office of the *mu-tang* has undergone considerable modification. Formerly her power consisted in the foretelling of events by the movements of a turtle on the application of hot iron to his back, and by the falling of a leaf of certain trees. Her present vocation is chiefly mediatorial. It is also becoming partially hereditary, her daughter or even daughter-in-law taking up her work. The "call" is considered a grave calamity. Ordinarily these women are of the lower class. They are frequently worshippers of Buddha, after the gross

and debased cult which exists in Korea, and place his picture along with those of the dæmons in the small temples in their houses.

Taking the male and female Shamanate together, the *Shamans* possess immense power over the people, from the clever and ambitious Korean queen, who resorted constantly to the *Pan-su* on behalf of the future of the Crown Prince, down to the humblest peasant family. They are in intimate contact with the people in all times of difficulty and affliction, their largest claims are conceded, and they are seldom out of employment.

The dæmons whose professed servants the *Shamans* are, and whose yoke lies heavy on Korea, are rarely even mythical beings who might possibly have existed in human shape. They are legion. They dwell in all matter and pervade all space. They are a horde without organisation, destitute of genus, species, and classification, created out of Korean superstitions, debased Buddhism, and Chinese mythical legend. There have been no native attempts at their arrangement, and whatever has been done in this direction is due to the labours of Mr. G. H. Jones and Dr. Landis, from whose lists a few may be chosen as specimens.

The *O-bang-chang-kun* are five, and some of the more important preside over East Heaven, South, West, North, and Middle. In *Shamans'* houses shrines are frequently erected to them, bearing their collective name, to which worship is paid. They are held in high honour and are prominent in *Pan-su* rites. At the entrance of many villages on the south branch of the Han the villagers represent them by posts with tops rudely carved into

hideous caricatures of humanity, which are ofttimes decorated with straw tassels, and receive offerings of rice and fruit as village protectors (see p. 83).

The *Shin-chang* are dæmon generals said to number 80,000, each one at the head of a dæmon host. They fill the earth and air, and are specially associated with the *Pan-su*, who are capable of summoning them by magic formulæ to aid in divination and exorcism. Shrines to single members of this militant host occur frequently in Central Korea, each one containing a highly-coloured daub of a gigantic mediæval warrior, and the words, "I, the Spirit, dwell in this place."

The Tok-gabi are the most dreaded and detested, as well as the best known, of all the dæmon *horde*. Yet they seem nondescripts, and careful and patient examination has only succeeded in relegating them to the class of such myths as the Will o' the Wisp and Jack o' Lantern, elevated, however, in Korea to the status of genuine devils with fetishes of their own. They are regarded as having human originals in the souls of those who have come to sudden or violent ends. They are bred on execution-grounds and battle-fields, and wherever men perish in numbers. They go in overwhelming legions, and not only dwell in empty houses but in inhabited villages, terrifying the inhabitants. They it was who, by taking possession of the fine Audience Hall of the Mulberry Palace in Seoul, rendered the buildings untenable, frightful tales being told and believed of nocturnal dæmon orgies amidst those doleful splendours. People leave their houses and build new ones because of them. Their fetishes may be such things as a *mapu's* hat or the cloak of a *yamen* clerk,

rotten with age and dirt, enshrined under a small straw booth. Besides the devilry attributed to the *Tok-gabi* they are accused of many pranks, such as placing the covers of iron pots inside them, and pounding doors and windows all night, till it seems as if they would be smashed, yet leaving no trace of their work.

The actually unclean spirits, the *Sagem*, the criminal class of the vast "*Dæmoneon*," infest Korean life like vermin, wandering about embracing every opportunity of hurting and molesting man. Against these both *Pan-su* and *mu-tang* wage continual war by their enchantments, the *Pan-su* by their exorcisms either driving them off or catching them and burying them in disgrace, while the *mu-tang* propitiate them and send them off in honour.

Another great group of dæmons is the *San-Shin Ryöng* —the spirits of the mountains. I found their shrines in all the hilly country, along both branches of the Han, by springs and streams, and specially under the shade of big trees, and on *Ampelopsis*-covered rocks, a flat rock being a specially appropriate site from its suitability for an altar, and thus specially "fortunate." The dæmon who is the tutelary spirit of *ginseng*, the most valuable export of Korea, is greatly honoured. So also is the patron dæmon of deer-hunters, who is invariably represented in his shrine as a fierce-looking elderly man in official dress riding a tiger. Surrounding him are altars to his harem, and there are also female dæmons, mountain spirits, who are pictured as women, frequently Japanese.

The tiger which abounds in Central and Northern Korea is understood to be the confidential servant of these mountain dæmons, and when he commits depredations,

the people, believing the dæmon of the vicinity to be angry, hurry with offerings to his nearest shrine. The Koreans consider it a good omen when they see in their dreams the mountain dæmon, either as represented in his shrine, or under the form of his representative the tiger. These mountain dæmons are specially sought by recluses, and people ofttimes retire into solitary mountain glens, where, by bathing, fasting, and offerings, they strive to gain their favour. These spirits, believed to be very powerful, are much feared by farmers, and by villagers living near high mountains. They think that if when they are out on the hill-sides cutting wood they forget to cast the first spoonful of rice from the bowl to the dæmon, they will be punished by a severe fall or cut, or some other accident. These spirits are capricious and exacting, and for every little neglect take vengeance on the members of a farmer's household or on his crops or cattle.

The *Long-shin*, or Dragon dæmons, are water spirits. They have no shrines, but the *Shamans* conduct a somewhat expensive ceremony by the sea and river sides in which they present them with offerings for the repose of the souls of drowned persons.

The phase of Dæmonolatry which is the most common and the first to arrest a traveller's attention is also the most obscure. The *Söng Whoang Dan* (altar of the Holy Prince), the great Korean altar, rudely built of loose stones under the shade of a tree, from the branches of which are suspended such worthless *ex votos* as strips of paper, rags, small bags of rice, old clouts, and worn-out shoes, looks less like an altar than a decaying cairn of large size.[1] A

[1] Mr. G. H. Jones suggests the idea that these uncouth heaps of stones

peculiarity of the *Sŏng Whoang Dan* is that they are generally supposed to be frequented by various dæmons, though occasionally they are crowned by a shrine to a single spirit. Korean travellers make their special plea to a travellers' dæmon who is supposed to be found there, and hang up strips of their goods in the overhanging branches, and the sailor likewise regards the altar as the shrine of his guardian dæmon, and bestows a bit of old rope upon it. Further than this, when some special bird or beast has destroyed insects injurious to agriculture, the people erect a shrine to it on these altars or cairns, on which may frequently be seen the rude daub of a bird or animal.

Two spirits, the *To-ti-chi Shin* and the *Chon-Shin*, are regarded as local dæmons, and occupy spots on the mountain-sides. They receive worship at funerals, and a sacrifice similar to that offered in ancestral worship is made to them before the body is laid in the earth. Two *Shamans* preside over this, and one of them intones a ritual belonging to the occasion. The shrine of *Chon-Shin* is a local temple, a small decayed erection usually found outside villages. In Seoul he has a mud or plaster shrine in which his picture is enshrined with much ceremony, but in the country his fetish is usually a straw booth set up over a pair of old shoes under a tree. For the observances connected with him all the residents in a neighbourhood are taxed. He may be regarded as the chief dæmon in every district, and it is in his honour that the *mu-tang* celebrate the triennial festival formerly described.

were originally munitions of war over which tutelary dæmons were supposed to brood, and thinks that the transition to an altar would be a very natural one.

The Household Spirits are the last division of the Korean *Dæmoneon.* Söng Ju, the spirit of the ridge-pole, who presides over the home, occupies a sort of imperial position with regard to the other household spirits.

His fetish consists of some sheets of paper and a paper bag containing as many spoonfuls of rice as the household is years old on the day when the *mu-tang* suspends it to the cross-beam of the house.

The ceremony of his inauguration was conducted as follows in the case of a householder who was at once a scholar, a noble, a rich man, and the headman of a large village. A lucky day having been chosen by divination, the noble, after grading the site for his house, erected the framework, and with great ceremony attached such a fetish, duly prepared by the *Pan-su,* to the cross-beam. Prostrations and invocations marked this stage. When the building of the house was completed, an auspicious day was again chosen by divination, and a great ceremony was performed by the *mu-tang* for the enshrining of the dæmon in the home. The *mu-tang* arranged the ceremonial and prepared the offerings, and then with a special wand, only used on these occasions, called the spirit who is supposed to be under her control, and returning to the house solemnly enshrined him in the fetish, to which it is correct to add a fresh sheet of paper every year. After *Söng Ju* was supposed to have had time to feed spiritually on the offerings, they were placed before the guests, and a great entertainment followed.

Ti Ju, or the lord of the site, is the next great dæmon, but investigations regarding him have been very resultless. Little is known, except that offerings are presented to him

at some spot on the premises, but not inside the house. These offerings, which are of food, are made on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 15th of each month. This food is afterwards eaten by the family, and a continual offering is represented by a bit of cloth or a scrap of old rope. His fetish is a bundle of straw, empty inside, placed on three sticks, but in some circumstances a flower-pot with some rice inside is substituted.

Op Ju, the kitchen dæmon, is the third of the trio which are permanently attached to the house. His fetish is a piece of cloth or paper nailed to the wall above the cooking place.

After these come the dæmons who are attached to the family and not the house, the first of them being *Cho Wang*, a spirit of the constellation of the Great Bear, a very popular spirit. His shrine is outside the wall, and his fetish, to which worship is paid, is a gourd full of cloth and paper. *Cho Wang* is often the dæmon familiar of a *mu-tang*.

Ti Ju, No. 2, is the fate or luck of the family, and every household is ambitious to secure him. His fetish is a straw booth three feet high, in which is a flower-pot containing some rice covered with a stone and paper.

The greatest of the family dæmons is an ancient and historical dæmon, *Chöi Sök*, who is regarded as the grandfather of *San Chin-chöi Sök*, the dæmon of nativity. His fetish, unless it becomes rotten or is accidentally destroyed, descends from father to son. He has several fetishes, and when he receives homage at the Triennial Festival, the *mu-tang* puts on the dress of an official. He is the dæmon of nativity and the giver of posterity, and is a triple

dæmon. Korean women hearing of the Christian Trinity have been known to say that *San Chin* enables them to understand the mystery! He is believed to have the control of all children up to the age of four. He avenges ceremonial defilement, such as the sight by an expectant mother of a mourner or a dead object, and outside a house where there has been a recent birth, a notice warning visitors not to enter is often put up on his behalf. He imposes on plebeian mothers a period of seclusion for twenty-one days after a birth, but for noble mothers one hundred days, for which period the rays of the sun are rigidly excluded from both mother and child.

Pa-mul, the dæmon of riches, is the Japanese *Daikoku* and the British *Mammon*. He is worshipped in the granary, and thanks are offered to him as well as petitions. His fetish is a paste jar set up on two decorated bags of rice. A man in Chemulpo, now a Christian, had a very famous fetish, which was originally a jar of beans, but these were changed into clear water, and a mysterious improvement in the fortunes of the family set in from that date, the jar becoming an object of grateful worship. One day it was found broken and the water lost, and from that time his fortunes declined.

Kol-lip is the dæmon who takes charge of the external fortunes of the family, and is also the mercury of the household dæmons. His fetish is enshrined over the gate-house, and consists of a mass of rubbish, old straw shoes for wearing on his travels, *cash* for spiritual funds, and a fragment of grass cloth for travelling outfit. There is also the dæmon of the gate whose fetish hangs over the entrance.

Dr. Landis has classified the Korean dæmons as follows:

Spirits high in rank

1. Spirits of the Heavens.
2. Spirits of the Earth.
3. Spirits of the Mountains and Hills.
4. Spirits of the Dragons.
5. Guardian Spirits of the District.
6. Spirits of the Buddhist Faith (?)

Spirits of the House

7. Spirit of the ridge-pole. This is the chief of all the spirits of the House.
8. Spirit of goods and furniture.
9. Spirit dæmon of the Yi family.
10. Spirit of the kitchen.
11. Attendant spirits of No. 9.
12. Spirits which serve one's ancestors.
13. The Guards and servants of No. 9.
14. The Spirits which aid jugglers.
15. Spirits of goods and chattels, like No. 8, but inferior in rank.
16. Spirits of smallpox.
17. Spirits which take the forms of animals.
18. Spirits which take possession of young girls and change them into exorcists.
19. Spirits of the seven stars which form the Dipper.
20. Spirits of the house site.

Various kinds of Spirits

21. Spirits which make men brave.
22. Spirits which reside in trees. Any gnarled shrub or malformed tree is supposed to be the residence of one of these spirits. Spirits which cause persons to meet either a violent death or to die young. Any one who has died before reaching a cycle (*i.e.* 60 years) is supposed to have died owing to the influence of one of these spirits. It is needless to say that they are all evil.
23. Spirits which cause tigers to eat men.
24. Spirits which cause men to die on the road.

25. Spirits which roam about the house causing all sorts of calamities.
26. Spirits which cause a man to die away from home.
27. Spirits which cause men to die as substitutes for others.
28. Spirits which cause men to die by strangulation.
29. Spirits which cause men to die by drowning.
30. Spirits which cause women to die in childbirth.
31. Spirits which cause men to die by suicide.
32. Spirits which cause men to die by fire.
33. Spirits which cause men to die by being beaten.
34. Spirits which cause men to die by falls.
35. Spirits which cause men to die by pestilence.
36. Spirits which cause men to die by cholera.

The belief in the efficacy of the performances of the *mu-tang* is enormous. In sickness the very poor half starve themselves and pawn their clothing to pay for her exorcisms. Her power has been riveted upon the country for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. The order is said to date back 4000 years, and to have been called in China, where it was under official regulations, *mu-ham*. Five hundred years ago the founder of the present dynasty prohibited *mu-tang* from living within the walls of Seoul —hence their houses and temples are found outside the city walls.

Women are not *mu-tang* by birth, but of late years it has become customary for the girl children of a sorceress to go out with her and learn her arts, which is tending to give the profession a hereditary aspect. It is now recruited partly in this fashion, partly from among hysterical girls, and partly for a livelihood; but outside of these sources, a dæmon may take possession of any woman, wife, maid, or widow, rich or poor, plebeian or patrician, and compel her

to serve him. At the beginning of the possession she becomes either slightly or seriously ill, and her illness may last four weeks or three years, during which time she dreams of a dragon, a rainbow, peach trees in blossom, or of a man in armour who is suddenly metamorphosed into an animal. Under the influence of these dreams she becomes like an insane person, and when awake sees many curious things, and before long speaks as an oracle of the spirits.

She then informs her family that messengers from Heaven, Earth, and the Lightning have informed her that if she is not allowed to practise exorcism, they or their domestic animals will die. Should they insist on secluding her, her illness shortly terminates fatally. If a daughter of a noble family becomes possessed, they probably make away with her, in the idea that if madness takes this turn, the disgrace would be indelible.

But things usually go smoothly, and on being allowed to have her own way the first thing she does is to go into a vacant room and fill it with flowers as an offering to the dæmons. Then she must obtain the clothing and professional paraphernalia of a deceased *mu-tang*. The clothing may be destroyed after the dæmon has taken full possession of his new recruit, but the drums and other instruments must be retained. After the possessions of the deceased *mu-tang* have been bestowed on the new one who claims them, she proceeds to exorcise such bad spirits as may be infesting the donor's house, so as to enable his family to live in peace, after which she writes his name on a tablet, and placing it in a small room invokes blessings on him for three years.

After this ceremonial has been observed, the *mu-tang*,

fully possessed by a dæmon, begins to exercise her very important and lucrative profession. Her equipment consists of a number of dresses, some of them very costly, a drum shaped like an hour glass, four feet in length, copper cymbals, a copper rod, with tinklers suspended from it by copper chains, strips of silk and paper banners which float round her as she dances, fans, umbrellas, wands, images of men and animals, brass or copper gongs, and a pair of telescope-shaped baskets for scratching, chiefly used in cases of cholera, which disease is supposed to result from rats climbing about in the human interior. The scratching sound made by a peculiar use of these baskets, which resembles the noise made by cats, is expected to scare and drive away these rodents.

The preliminaries of exorcism are that the *mu-tang* must subject herself to certain restraints varying from a month to three days, during which time she must abstain from flesh and fish, and must partially fast. Before an exorcism ashes are steeped in water and the sorceress takes of this, and sprinkles it as she walks round the house, afterwards taking pure water and going through the same ceremony.

The almost fabulous sums squeezed by the *mu-tang* out of the people of Seoul are given in a previous chapter. It will be observed that in Korea sickness is always associated with dæmoniacal possession, and that the services of the *Pan-su*, or *mu-tang*, are always requisitioned. European medicine and surgery are the most successful assailants of this barbarous and degrading system which holds the whole nation, in many respects highly civilised, in bondage, and the influence of both as practised in con-

nection with "Medical Missions" is tending increasingly in the direction of emancipation.

It would be impossible to say how far the *mu-tang* is self-deceived. In some of her dances, especially in one in which she exorcises "The dæmon of the Yi family," one of the most powerful and malignant of the dæmon hierarchy, she works herself into such a delirious frenzy that she falls down foaming at the mouth, and death is occasionally the result of the frantic excitement.

The "Dæmon of the Yi Family" is invoked in every district once in three years by the *mu-tang* in a formula which has been translated thus—"O Master and Mistress of our Kingdom, may you ever exist in peace. Once in every three years we invoke you with music and dancing. Oh make this house to be peaceful." If this malignant spirit arrives at a house he can only be appeased by the death of a man, an ox, or a pig. Therefore when the *mu-tang* becomes aware that he has come to a house or neighbourhood, a pig is at once killed, boiled, and offered up entire—the exorcist takes two knives and dances a sword-dance, working herself into a "fine frenzy," after which a box is made and a Korean official hat and robes are placed within it, as well as a dress suitable for a palace lady. The box is then placed on the top of the family clothes chest, and sacrifices are frequently offered there. This dæmon is regarded as the spirit of a rebellious Crown Prince, the sole object of whose dæmon existence is to injure all with whom he can come into contact.

A man sometimes marries a *mu-tang*, but he is invariably "a fellow of the baser sort," who desires to live in idleness on the earnings of his wife. If, as is occasionally

the case, the *mu-tang* belongs to a noble family, she is only allowed to exorcise spirits in her own house, and when she dies she is buried in a hole in a mountain-side with the whole paraphernalia of her profession. Some *mu-tang* do not go abroad for purposes of exorcism. These may be regarded as the aristocracy of their profession, and many of them are of much repute and live in the suburbs of Seoul. Those who desire their services send the necessary money and offerings, and the *mu-tang* exorcise the spirits in their own houses.

The use of straw ropes, and of pieces of paper resembling the Shinto *gohei*, during incantations, with a certain similarity between the Shinto and the *Shaman* ceremonies, might suggest a common origin; but our knowledge of the Dæmonism of Korea is so completely in its infancy, that any speculations as to its kinships can be of little value, and it is only as a very slight contribution to the sum of knowledge of an obscure but very interesting subject, that I venture to present these chapters to my readers.

The Koreans, it must be remarked, have no single word for Dæmonism or Shamanism. The only phrase in use to express their belief in dæmons who require to be propitiated is, *Kur-sin wi han-nan Köt* (the worship of Spirits). *Pulto* is Buddhism, *Yuto* Confucianism, and *Sönto* Taoism, but the termination *To*, "doctrine," has not yet been affixed to Dæmonism.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SEOUL IN 1897[1]

IT was midnight when, by the glory of an October full moon, I arrived from Chemulpo at the foot of the rugged slope crowned with the irregular, lofty, battlemented city wall and picturesque double-roofed gateway of the Gate of Staunch Loyalty which make the western entrance to the Korean capital so unique and attractive. An arrangement had been made for the opening of the gate, and after a long parley between the faithful Im and the guard, the heavy iron-bolted door creaked back before the united efforts of ten men, and I entered Seoul, then under the authority of Ye Cha Yun, an energetic and enlightened Governor, under whose auspices the western part of the city has lost the refuse heaps and foulness, with their concomitant odours, which were its chief characteristic. In the streets and lanes not a man, dog, or cat stirred, and not a light glimmered from any casement; but when I reached Chong-dong, the foreign quarter, I observed that

[1] I left Korea for China at Christmas 1895, and after spending six months in travelling in the Chinese Far West, and three months among the Nan-tai San mountains in Japan, returned in the middle of October 1896, and remained in Seoul until late in the winter of 1896-97.

the lower extremity of every road leading in the direction of the Russian Legation was irregularly guarded by several slouching Korean sentries, gossiping in knots as they leaned on their rifles.

The grounds of my host's house open on those of the King's new palace, and the King and Crown Prince, attended by large retinues, were constantly carried through them on their way from their asylum in the Russian Legation to perform the customary rites at the spirit shrine, to which the fragmentary remains of the murdered Queen had been removed, to wait until the geomancers could decide on an "auspicious", site for her grave, the one which had been prepared for her at an enormous expense some miles outside the city having just been pronounced "unlucky."

A few days after my arrival the King went to the Kyeng-wun Palace to receive a Japanese prince, and courteously arranged to give me an audience afterwards, to which I went, attended, as on the last occasion, by the British Legation interpreter. The entrances were guarded by a number of slouching sentries in Japanese uniforms. Their hair, which had been cropped at the time of the abolition of the "top-knot," had grown again, and hung in heavy shocks behind their ears, giving them a semi-barbarous appearance. At the second gate I alighted, no chair being permitted to enter, and walked to a very simple audience hall, then used for the first time, about 20 feet by 12 feet, of white wood, with lattice doors and windows, both covered with fine white paper, and with fine white mats on the floor.

The King and Crown Prince, both of whom were in

deep mourning, *i.e.* in pure white robes with sleeveless dresses of exquisitely fine buff grass-cloth over them, and fine buff crinoline hats, stood together at the upper end of the room, surrounded by eunuchs, court ladies, including the reigning favourites, the ladies *Pak* and *Om*, and Court functionaries, all in mourning, the whole giving one an impression of absolute spotlessness. The waists of the voluminous white skirts of the ladies, which are a yard too long for them all round, were as high up as it was possible to place them.

The King and Crown Prince bowed and smiled. I made the required three curtseys to each, and the interpreter adopted the deportment required by Court etiquette, crouching, looking down, and speaking in an awe-struck whisper. I had not seen the King for two years, a period of great anxiety and vicissitude to him, but he was not looking worn or older, and when I congratulated him on his personal security and the resumption of his regal functions he expressed himself cordially in reply, with an air of genuine cheerfulness. In the brief conversation which followed the Crown Prince took part, and showed a fair degree of intelligence, as well as a much-improved physique.

Later I had two informal audiences of the King in his house in the centre of the mass of the new buildings of the Kyeng-wun Palace. It is a detached Korean dwelling of the best Korean workmanship, with a deep-eaved, tiled roof, the carved beams of which are elaborately painted, and their terminals decorated with the five-petalled plum blossom, the dynastic emblem. The house consists of a hall with a *kang* floor, divided into one large and two

small rooms by sliding and removable partitions of fret-work, filled in with fine tissue paper, the windows which occupy the greater part of both sides being of the same construction. The very small rooms at each end are indicated as the sleeping apartments of the King and his son by pale blue silk mattresses laid upon the fine white mats which cover the whole floor. The only furniture was two ten-leaved white screens. The fastenings of the windows and partitions are of very fine Korean brasswork. Simplicity could not go further.

Opposite is the much-adorned spirit shrine of the late Queen, connected with the house by a decorated gallery. The inner palace enclosure, where these buildings are, is very small, and behind the King's house rises into a stone terrace. Numerous as is the King's guard, it is evident that he fears to rely upon it solely, for of two gates leading from his house one opens into quarters occupied by Russian officers, who arrived in Seoul in the autumn of 1890, at the King's request, for purposes of military organisation; and the other into small barracks occupied by the Russian drill-instructors of the Korean army. Through the former he could reach the grounds of the English Legation in one minute, and after his former experiences possibilities of escape must be his first consideration. The small buildings of this new palace were already crowded like a rabbit warren, and when completed will contain over 1000 people, including the bodyguard, eunuchs, and Court officials innumerable, writers, readers, palace ladies, palace women, and an immense establishment of cooks, runners, servants, and all the superabundant and useless *entourage* of an Eastern Sovereign, to whom crowds

and movement represent power. This congeries of buildings was carefully guarded, and even the Korean soldier who attended on me was not allowed to pass the gate.

The King had given me permission to take his photograph for Queen Victoria, and I was arranging the room for the purpose when the interpreter shouted "His Majesty," and almost before I could step back and curtsey, the King and Crown Prince entered, followed by the Officers of the Household and several of the Ministers, a *posse* of the new-fangled police crowding the verandah outside. The Sovereign, always courteous, asked if I would like to take one of the portraits in his royal robes. The rich crimson brocade and the gold-embroidered plastrons on his breast and shoulders became him well, and his pose was not deficient in dignity. He took some trouble to arrange the Crown Prince to the best advantage, but the result was unsuccessful. After the operation was over he examined the different parts of the camera with interest, and seemed specially cheerful.

At a farewell audience some weeks later the King reverted to the subject of a British Minister, accredited solely to Korea; and the interpreter added, as an aside, "His Majesty is very anxious about this." He hardly seemed to realise that, even if a change in the representation were contemplated, it could scarcely be carried out while Sir Claude Macdonald, who is accredited to both Courts, remains Minister at Peking.

The King was for more than a year the guest of the Russian Legation, an arrangement most distasteful to a large number of his subjects, who naturally regarded it as a national humiliation that their Sovereign should be

under the protection of a foreign flag. Rumours of plots for removing him to the Palace from which he escaped were rife, and there were days on which he feared to visit the Queen's tablet-house unless Russian officers walked beside his chair.

Mr. Waeber, the Russian Minister, had then been in Korea twelve years. He is an able and faithful servant of Russia. He was trusted by the King and the whole foreign community, and up to the time of the *Hegira* had been a warm and judicious friend of the Koreans. His guidance might have prevented the King from making infamous appointments and arbitrary arrests, from causelessly removing officials who were working well, and from such reckless extravagances as a costly Embassy to the European Courts and a foolish increase of the army and police force. But he remained passive, allowing the Koreans to "stew in their own juice," acting possibly under orders from home to give Korea "rope enough to hang herself," a proceeding which might hereafter give Russia a legitimate excuse for interference. Apart from such instructions, it must remain an inscrutable mystery why so excellent a man and so capable a diplomatist when absolutely master of the situation neglected to aid the Sovereign with his valuable advice, a course which would have met with the cordial approval of all his colleagues.

Be that as it may, the liberty which the King has enjoyed at the Russian Legation and since has not been for the advantage of Korea, and recent policy contrasts unfavourably with that pursued during the period of Japanese ascendency, which, on the whole, was in the direction of progress and righteousness.

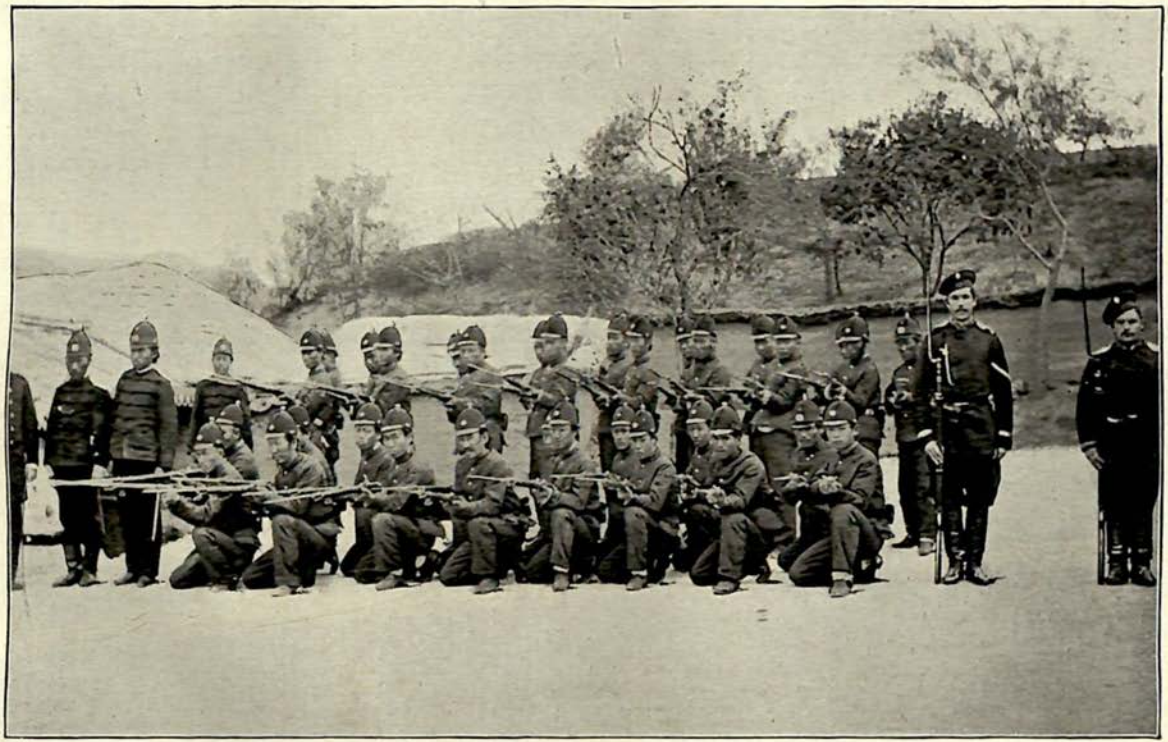
Old abuses cropped up daily, Ministers and other favourites sold offices unblushingly, and when specific charges were made against one of the King's chief favourites, the formal demand for his prosecution was met by making him Vice-Minister of Education! The King, freed from the control of the mutinous officers and usurping Cabinet of 8th October 1895, from the Queen's strong though often unscrupulous guidance, and from Japanese ascendency, and finding himself personally safe, has reverted to some of the worst traditions of his dynasty, and in spite of certain checks his edicts are again law and his will absolute. And it is a will at the mercy of any designing person who gets hold of him and can work upon his fears and his desire for money—of the ladies *Pak* and *Om*, who assisted him in his flight, and of favourites and sycophants low and many, who sell or bestow on members of their families offices they have little difficulty in obtaining from his pliable good nature. With an ample Civil List and large perquisites he is the most impecunious person in his dominions, for in common with all who occupy official positions in Korea he is surrounded by hosts of grasping parasites and hangers-on, for ever clamouring "Give, Give."

Men were thrown into prison without reason, some of the worst of the *canaille* were made Ministers of State, the murderer of *Kim Ok-yun* was appointed Master of Ceremony, and a convicted criminal, a man whose life has been one career of sordid crime, was made Minister of Justice. Consequent upon the surreptitious sale of offices, the seizure of revenue on its way to the Treasury, the appointment of men to office for a few days, to give

them "rank" and to enable them to quarter on the public purse a host of impecunious relations and friends, and the custom among high officials of resigning office on the occasion of the smallest criticism, the administration is in a state of constant chaos, and the ofttimes well-meaning but always vacillating Sovereign, absolute without an idea of how to rule, the sport of favourites usually unworthy, who work upon his amiability, the prey of greedy parasites, and occasionally the tool of foreign adventurers, paralyses all good government by destroying the elements of permanence, and renders economy and financial reform difficult and spasmodic by consenting to schemes of reckless extravagance urged upon him by interested schemers. Never has the King made such havoc of reigning as since he regained his freedom under the roof of the Russian Embassy.

I regret to have to write anything to the King's disadvantage. Personally I have found him truly courteous and kind, as he is to all foreigners. He has amiable characteristics, and I believe a certain amount of patriotic feeling. But as he is an all-important element of the present and future condition of Korea, it would be misleading and dishonest to pass over without remark such characteristics of his character and rule as are disastrous to Korea, bearing in mind in extenuation of them that he is the product of five centuries of a dynastic tradition which has practically taught that public business and the interests of the country mean for the Sovereign simply getting offices and pay for favourites, and that statesmanship consists in playing off one Minister against another.

Novelties in the Seoul streets were the fine physique



KOREAN CADET CORPS AND RUSSIAN DRILL INSTRUCTORS.

and long grey uniforms of Colonel Putiata and his subordinates, three officers and ten drill-instructors, who arrived to drill and discipline the Korean army, the American military adviser having proved a failure, while the troops drilled by the Japanese were mutinous and rapacious, and the Japanese drill-instructors had retired with the rest of the *régime*. This "Military Commission" was doing its work with characteristic vigour and thoroughness, and the flat-faced, pleasant-looking non-commissioned officers, with their drilled slouch, serviceable uniforms, and long boots, were always an attraction to the crowd. A novelty, too, was the sight of the Korean cadet *corps* of thirty-seven young men of good families and seven officers, marching twice daily between the drill-ground of the Korean troops close to the Kyeng-pok Palace and their own barracks behind the Russian Legation, with drums beating and colours flying. These young men, who are to receive a two years' military education from Russian officers, are under severe discipline, and were greatly surprised to find that servants were a prohibited luxury, and that their training involved the cleaning and keeping bright of their own rifles and accoutrements, and hard work for many hours of the day. The army now consists of 4300 men in Seoul, 800 of whom are drilled as a bodyguard for the King, and 1200 in the provinces, in Japanese uniforms, and equipped (so far as they go) with 3000 Berdan rifles presented by Russia to Korea. The drill and words of command are Russian.

A standing army of 2000 men would have been sufficient for all purposes in Korea, and as far as her need

goes an army of 6000 is an unblushing extravagance and a heavy drain on her resources. It is most probable that a force drilled and armed by Russia, accustomed to obey Russian orders and animated by an intense hereditary hatred of Japan, would prove a valuable *corps d'armée* to Russia in the event of war with that ambitious and restless empire.

SEOUL GEND'ARME, OLD *RÉGIME*.

The old *kesu* or *gens-d'armes* with their picturesque dresses and long red plumes are now only to be seen, and that rarely, in attendance on officials of the Korean Government. Seoul is now policed, much overpoliced, for it has a force of 1200 men, when a quarter of that number would be sufficient for its orderly population. Everywhere numbers of slouching men on and off duty, in Japanese semi-military uniforms, with shocks of hair behind their ears and swords in nickel-plated scabbards by their sides, suggest useless and extravagant expenditure. The soldiers and police, by an unwise arrangement made by the Japanese, and now scarcely possible to alter, are enormously overpaid, the soldiers

receiving five dollars and a half a month, "all found," and the police from eight to ten, only finding their food. The Korean army is about the most highly paid in the world. The average Korean in his great baggy trousers, high, perishable, broad-brimmed hat, capacious sleeves, and long flapping white coat, is usually a docile and harmless man; but European clothes and arms transform him into a truculent, insubordinate, and ofttimes brutal person, without civic sympathies or patriotism, greedy of power and spoil. Detachments of soldiers scattered through the country were a terror to the people from their brutality and marauding propensities early in 1897, and unless Russian officers are more successful than their predecessors in disciplining the raw material, an overpaid army, too large for the requirements of the country, may prove a source of weakness and frequent disorder.

SEOUL POLICEMAN, NEW *RÉGIME*.

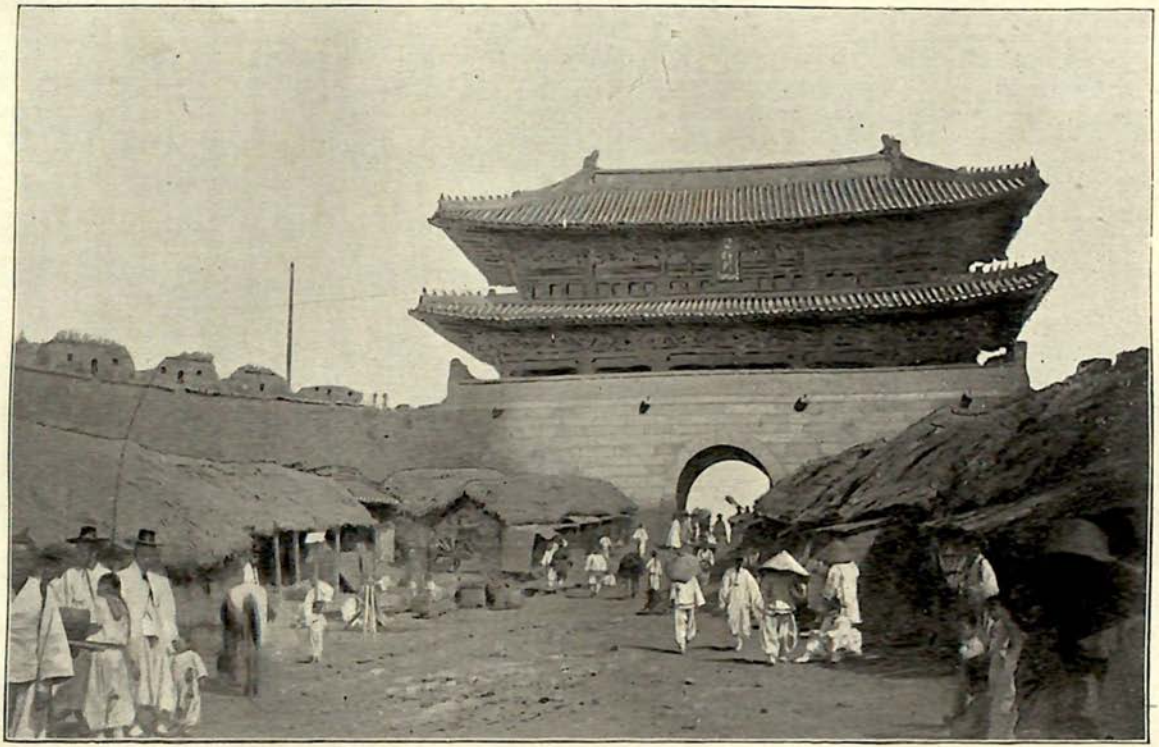
Seoul in many parts, specially in the direction of the south and west gates, was literally not recognisable. Streets, with a minimum width of 55 feet, with deep stone-lined

channels on both sides, bridged by stone slabs, had replaced the foul alleys, which were breeding-grounds of cholera. Narrow lanes had been widened, slimy runlets had been paved, roadways were no longer "free coups" for refuse, bicyclists "scorched" along broad, level streets, "express waggons" were looming in the near future, preparations were being made for the building of a French hotel in a fine situation, shops with glass fronts had been erected in numbers, an order forbidding the throwing of refuse into the streets was enforced,—refuse matter is now removed from the city by official scavengers, and Seoul, from having been the foulest is now on its way to being the cleanest city of the Far East!

This extraordinary metamorphosis was the work of four months, and is due to the energy and capacity of the Chief Commissioner of Customs, ably seconded by the capable and intelligent Governor of the city, Ye Cha Yun, who had acquainted himself with the working of municipal affairs in Washington, and who with a rare modesty refused to take any credit to himself for the city improvements, saying that it was all due to Mr. M'Leavy Brown.

Old Seoul, with its festering alleys, its winter accumulations of every species of filth, its ankle-deep mud and its foulness, which lacked the redeeming element of picturesqueness, is being fast improved off the face of the earth. Yet it is chiefly a restoration, for the dark, narrow alleys which lingered on till the autumn of 1896 were but the result of gradual encroachments on broad roadways, the remains of the marginal channels of which were discovered.

What was done (and is being done) was to pull down the houses, compensate their owners, restore the old



SOUTH GATE.

channels, and insist that the houses should be rebuilt at a uniform distance behind them. Along the fine broad streets thus restored tiled roofs have largely replaced thatch, in many cases the lower parts of the walls have been rebuilt of stone instead of wattle, and attempts at decoration and neatness are apparent in many of the house and shop fronts, while many of the smoke-holes, which vomit forth the smoke of the *kang* fires directly into the street, are now fitted with glittering chimneys, constructed out of American kerosene tins.

Some miles of broad streets are now available as promenades, and are largely taken advantage of; business looked much brisker than formerly, the shops made more display, and there was an air of greater prosperity, which has been taken advantage of by the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, which has opened a branch at Chemulpo, and will probably ere long appear in the capital.

It is not, however, only in the making of broad thoroughfares that the improvement consists. Very many of the narrow lanes have been widened, their roadways curved and gravelled, and stone gutters have been built along the sides, in some cases by the people themselves. Along with much else, the pungent, peculiar odour of Seoul has vanished. Sanitary regulations are enforced, and civilisation has reached such a height that the removal of the snow from the front of the houses is compulsory on all householders. So great is the change that I searched in vain for any remaining representative slum which I might photograph for this chapter as an illustration of Seoul in 1894. It must be remarked, however, that the capital is being reconstructed on Korean lines, and is not being Europeanised.

Chong-dong, however, the quarter devoted to Foreign Legations, Consulates, and Mission agencies, would have nearly ceased to be Korean had not the King set down the Kyeng-wun Palace with its crowded outbuildings in the midst of the foreign residences. Most of the native inhabitants have been bought out. Wide roads with foreign shops have been constructed. The French have built a Legation on a height, which vies in grandeur with that of Russia, and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission has finished a large red brick church, which, like the Roman Cathedral, can be seen from all quarters.

The picturesque Peking Pass, up and down whose narrow, rugged pathway generations of burdened baggage animals toiled and suffered, and which had seen the splendours of successive Chinese Imperial Envoys at the accession of the Korean Kings, has lost its identity. Its rock ledges, holes, and boulders have disappeared—the rocky gash has been widened, and the sides chiselled into smoothness, and under the auspices of the Russian Minister a broad road, with retaining walls and fine culverts, now carries the traffic over the lowered height.

Many other changes were noticeable. The Tai-won Kun, for so many years one of the chief figures in Korean politics, was practically a prisoner in his own palace. The Eastern and Western Palaces, with their enormous accommodation and immense pleasure-grounds, were deserted, and were already beginning to decay. The Japanese soldiers had vacated the barracks so long occupied by them close to the Kyeng-pok Palace, and, reduced to the modest numbers of a Legation-guard, were quartered in the Japanese settlement; parties of missionaries who had

hived off from Chong-dong were occupying groups of houses in various parts of the capital, and there was a singular "boom" in schools, accompanied by a military craze, which affected not the scholars only, but the boys of Seoul generally.

But it must be remarked in connection with education in Korea that so lately as the close of 1896 a book, called *Confucianist Scholars' Handbook of the Latitudes and Longitudes*, had been edited by Sin Ki Sun, Minister of Education, prefaced by two Councillors of the Education Department, and published at Government expense, in which the following sentences occur:—

P. 52: "Europe is too far away from the centre of civilisation, *i.e.* the Middle Kingdom; hence Russians, Turks, English, French, Germans, and Belgians look more like birds and beasts than men, and their languages sound like the chirping of fowls."

Again: "According to the views of recent generations, what westerners call the Christian Religion is vulgar, shallow, and erroneous, and is an instance of the vileness of Barbarian customs, which are not worthy of serious discussion. . . . They worship the heavenly spirits, but do not sacrifice to parents, they insult heaven in every way, and overturn the social relations. This is truly a type of Barbarian vileness, and is not worthy of treatment in our review of foreign customs, especially as at this time the religion is somewhat on the wane.

"Europeans have planted their spawn in every country of the globe except China. All of them honour this religion (!), but we are surprised to find that the Chinese scholars and people have not escaped contamination by it."

On p. 42 it is said: "Of late the so-called *Ye Su Kyo* (Christianity) has been trying to contaminate the world with its barbarous teachings. It deceives the masses by its stories of Heaven and Hell: it interferes with the rites of ancestral worship, and interdicts the custom of bowing before the gods of Heaven and Earth. These are the ravings of a disordered intellect, and are not worth discussing."

P. 50: "How grand and glorious is the Empire of China, the Middle Kingdom! She is the largest and richest in the world. The grandest men of the world have all come from the Middle Empire."

This tirade from an official pen was thought worthy of a remonstrance from the foreign representatives.

The graceful *Pai-low*, near the Peking Pass, at which generations of Korean kings had publicly acknowledged Chinese suzerainty by awaiting there the Imperial Envoy who came to invest them with regal rights, was removed, and during my sojourn the foundation of an arch to commemorate the assumption of Independence by Korea in January 1895 was laid near the same spot, in presence of a vast concourse of white-robed men. An Independence Club, with a disused Royal Pavilion near the stumps of the *Pai-low* for its Club House, had been established to commemorate and conserve the national autonomy, and though the entrance fee is high, had already a membership of 2000.

After a number of patriotic speeches had been made on the occasion of the laying of the foundation of the independence arch, the Club entertained the Foreign Legations and all the foreign residents at a *recherché* "collation" in this building; speeches were made both by Koreans and the

Foreign Representatives, and an extraordinary innovation was introduced. Waiters were dispensed with, and the Committee of the Club, the Governor of Seoul, and several of the Ministers of State themselves attended upon the guests with much grace and courtesy.

One of the most important events in Seoul was the establishment in April 1896 by Dr. Jaisohn of the *Independent*, a two-page tri-weekly newspaper in English and the Korean script, enlarged early in 1897 to four pages, and published separately in each language. Only those who have formed some idea of the besotted ignorance of the Korean concerning current events in his own country, and of the credulity which makes him the victim of every rumour set afloat in the capital, can appreciate the significance of this step and its probable effect in enlightening the people, and in creating a public opinion which shall sit in judgment on regal and official misdeeds. It is already fulfilling an important function in unearthing abuses and dragging them into daylight, and is creating a desire for rational education and reasonable reform, and is becoming something of a terror to evil-doers. Dr. Jaisohn (So Chia P'il) is a Korean gentleman educated in America, and has the welfare of his country thoroughly at heart.

The sight of newsboys passing through the streets with bundles of a newspaper in *En-mun* under their arms, and of men reading them in their shops, is among the novelties of 1897. Besides the *Independent*, there are now in Seoul two weeklies in *En-mun*, the *Korean Christian Advocate*, and the *Christian News*; and the Korean Independence Club publishes a monthly magazine, *The Chosen*, dealing

with politics, science, and foreign news, which has 2000 subscribers. Seoul has also a paper, the *Kanjo Shimbo*, or *Seoul News*, in mixed Japanese and Korean script, published on alternate days, and there are newspapers in the Japanese language, both in Fusan and Chemulpo. All these, and the admirable *Korean Repository*, are the growth of the last three years.

The faculty of combination, by which in Korea as in China the weak find some measure of protection against the strong, is being turned to useful account. This *Kyei*, or principle of association, which represents one of the most noteworthy features of Korea, develops into insurance companies, mutual benefit associations, money-lending syndicates, tontines, marriage and burial clubs, great trading guilds, and many others.

With its innumerable associations, only a few of which I have alluded to, Korean life is singularly complex; and the Korean business world is far more fully organised than ours, nearly all the traders in the country being members of guilds, powerfully bound together, and having the common feature of mutual helpfulness in time of need. This habit of united action, and the measure of honesty which is essential to the success of combined undertakings, supply the framework on which various joint-stock companies are being erected, among which one of the most important is a tannery. Korean hides have hitherto been sent to Japan to be manufactured, owing to caste and superstitious prejudices against working in leather. The establishment of this company, which brought over Japanese instructors to teach the methods of manufacture, has not only made an end of a foolish prejudice, in the

capital at least, but is opening a very lucrative industry, and others are following.

As may be expected in an Oriental country, the administration of law in Korea is on the whole infamous. It may be said that a body of law has yet to be created, as well as the judges who shall administer it equably. A mixed Committee of Revision has been appointed, but the Korean members show a marked tendency to drop off, and no legal reform, solely the work of foreigners, would carry weight with the people. Mr. Greathouse, a capable lawyer and legal adviser to the Law Department, has been able to prevent some infamous transactions, but on the whole the Seoul Law Court does little more than administer injustice and receive bribes. Of the two Law Courts of the capital, the Supreme Court, under the supervision of the Minister and Vice-Minister of Justice, and in which the foreign adviser sits with the judges to advise in important cases, is the more hopeful; yet one of the most disgraceful of late appointments has been in connection with this department. The outrageous decisions, the gross bribery, and the actual atrocities of the Seoul Court are likely to bring about its abolition, and I will not enlarge upon them.

One of the most striking changes introduced into the Seoul of 1897 is the improvement in the prison, which is greatly owing to Mr. A. B. Stripling, formerly of the Shanghai Police, who, occupying a position as adviser to the Police Department, is carrying out prison reforms, originally suggested by the Japanese, in a humane and enlightened manner. Torture has disappeared from the great city prison, but there were dark rumours that some

of the political prisoners, so lately as January 1897, were subjected to it elsewhere.

My experience of Eastern prisons, chiefly in Asia Minor, China, Persia, and a glimpse of a former prison in Seoul, have given me a vivid impression of the contrast presented by the present system. Surrounding a large quadrangle, with the chief gaoler's house in the centre, the rooms, not to be called cells, are large, airy, light, and well ventilated, with boarded floors covered with mats, and plenty of air space below. It is true that on the day I visited them some of the prisoners were shivering, and shivered more vigorously as an appeal to my compassion, but then the mercury was at 18° F., and this is not a usual temperature. They have a large bathroom with a stove on the Japanese plan. Their diet consists of a pint of excellent soup twice a day, with a large bowl of rice, and those who go out to work get a third meal. This ample diet costs 1½d. per day.

There were from twelve to eighteen prisoners in each ordinary room, and fifty were awaiting trial in one roomy hall. A few under sentence, two of them to death, wore long wooden *cangues*, but I did not see any fetters. They are allowed to bring in their own mattresses, mats, and pillows for extra comfort. On the whole they were clean, cleaner than the ordinary coolies outside. A perforated wooden bar attached to the floor, with another with corresponding perforations above it, secures the legs of the prisoners at night. The sick were lying thickly on the hot floor of a room very imperfectly lighted, but probably the well would have been glad to change with them.

There were 225 prisoners altogether, all men. Classifi-

cation is still in the future. Murderers and pilferers occupied the same room, and colonels of regiments accused of a serious conspiracy were with convicted felons, who might or might not be acting as spies and informers; a very fine-looking man, sentenced for life, the first magistrate in Korea ever convicted and punished for bribery, and that on the complaint of a simple citizen, was in a "cell" with criminals wearing *cangues*. Some of the sentences seemed out of proportion to the offences, as, for instance, a feeble old man was immured for three years for cutting and carrying off pine brush for fuel, and an old blind man of some position was incarcerated for ten years for the violation of a grave under circumstances of provocation.

Much has been done in the way of prison reform, and much remains to be done, specially in the direction of classification, but still the great Seoul prison contrasts most favourably with the prisons of China and other unreformed Oriental countries. Torture is at least nominally abolished, and brutal exposures of severed heads and headless trunks, and beating and slicing to death, were made an end of during the ascendency of Japan. After an afternoon in the prison of Seoul, I could hardly believe it possible that only two years before I had seen severed human heads hanging from tripod stands and lying on the ground in the throng of a business street, and headless bodies lying in their blood on the road outside the East Gate.

To mention the changes in Seoul would take another chapter. Dr. Allen, now U.S. Minister to Korea, said that the last four months of 1896 had seen more alterations

than the previous twelve years of his residence in the country, and the three months of my last visit brought something new every week.

On October 12th, 1897, the King, with solemn ceremonies at the altar of Heaven, assumed the title of Emperor, and afterwards announced that in future Korea would be known as DAI HAN, Great Han.

As a foil to so much that is indicative of progress, I conclude this chapter by mentioning, on the authority of the Governor of Seoul, that in January 1897 there were in the capital a thousand *mu-tang*, or sorceresses, earning on an average fifteen dollars a month each, representing an annual expenditure by that single city of a hundred and eighty thousand dollars on dealings with the spirits, exclusive of the large sums paid to the blind sorcerers for their services, and to the geomancers, whose claims on the occasion of the interment of any one of rank and wealth are simply monstrous.

CHAPTER XXXVII

LAST WORDS ON KOREA

THE patient reader has now learned with me something of Korean history during the last three years, as well as of the reorganised methods of government, and the education, trade, and finance of the country. He has also by proxy travelled in the interior, and has lived among the peasant farmers, seeing their industries, the huckstering which passes for trade, something of their domestic life and habits, and the superstitions by which they are enslaved, and has acquired some knowledge of the official and patrician exactions under which they suffer. He has seen the Koreans at home, with their limpness, laziness, dependence, and poverty, and Koreans under Russian rule raised into a thrifty and prosperous population. He can to some extent judge for himself of the prospects of a country which is incapable of standing alone, and which could support double its present population, and of the value of a territory which is possibly coveted by two Powers. Having acted as his guide so far, I should like to conclude with a few words on some of the subjects which have been glanced at in the course of these volumes.

Korea is not *necessarily* a poor country. Her resources are undeveloped, not exhausted. Her capacities for successful agriculture are scarcely exploited. Her climate is superb, her rainfall abundant, and her soil productive. Her hills and valleys contain coal, iron, copper, lead, and gold. The fisheries along her coast-line of 1740 miles might be a source of untold wealth. She is inhabited by a hardy and hospitable race, and she has no beggar class.

On the other hand, the energies of her people lie dormant. The upper classes, paralysed by the most absurd of social obligations, spend their lives in inactivity. To the middle class no careers are open; there are no skilled occupations to which they can turn their energies. The lower classes work no harder than is necessary to keep the wolf from the door, for very sufficient reasons. Even in Seoul, the largest mercantile establishments have hardly risen to the level of shops. Everything in Korea has been on a low, poor, mean level. Class privileges, class and official exactions, a total absence of justice, the insecurity of all earnings, a Government which has carried out the worst traditions on which all unreformed Oriental Governments are based, a class of official robbers steeped in intrigue, a monarch enfeebled by the seclusion of the palace and the pettinesses of the Seraglio, a close alliance with one of the most corrupt of empires, the mutual jealousies of interested foreigners, and an all-pervading and terrorising superstition have done their best to reduce Korea to that condition of resourcelessness and dreary squalor in which I formed my first impression of her.

Nevertheless the resources are there, in her seas, her soil, and her hardy population.

A great and universal curse in Korea is the habit in which thousands of able-bodied men indulge of hanging, or "sorning," on relations or friends who are better off than themselves. There is no shame in the transaction, and there is no public opinion to condemn it. A man who has a certain income, however small, has to support many of his own kindred, his wife's relations, many of his own friends, and the friends of his relatives. This partly explains the rush for Government offices, and their position as marketable commodities. To a man burdened with a horde of hangers-on, the one avenue of escape is official life, which, whether high or low, enables him to provide for them out of the public purse. This accounts for the continual creation of offices, with no other real object than the pensioning of the relatives and friends of the men who rule the country. Above all, this explains the frequency of conspiracies and small revolutions in Korea. Principle is rarely at stake, and no Korean revolutionist intends to risk his life in support of any conviction.

Hundreds of men, strong in health and of average intelligence, are at this moment hanging on for everything, even their tobacco, to high officials in Seoul, eating three meals a day, gossiping and plotting misdeeds, the feeling of honourable independence being unknown. When it is desirable to get rid of them, or it is impossible to keep them longer, offices are created or obtained for them. Hence Government employment is scarcely better than a "free coup" for this class of rubbish. The factious

political disturbances which have disgraced Korea for many years have not been conflicts of principle at all, but fights for the Government position which gives its holder the disposal of offices and money. The suspiciousness which prevents high officials from working together is also partly due to the desire of every Minister to get more influence with the King than his colleagues, and so secure more appointments for his relations and friends. The author of the Korean Dictionary states that the word for *work* in Korean is synonymous with "loss," "evil," "misfortune," and the man who leads an idle life proves his right to a place among the gentry. The strongest claim for office which an official puts forward for a *protégé* is that he cannot make a living. Such persons when appointed do little, and often nothing, except draw their salaries and "squeeze" where they can!

I have repeated almost *ad nauseam* that the cultivator of the soil is the *ultimate sponge*. The farmers work harder than any other class, and could easily double the production of the land, their methods, though somewhat primitive, being fairly well adapted to the soil and climate. But having no security for their gains, they are content to produce only what will feed and clothe their families, and are afraid to build better houses or to dress respectably. There are innumerable peasant farmers who have gone on reducing their acreage of culture year by year, owing to the exactions and forced loans of magistrates and *yang-bans*, and who now only raise what will enable them to procure three meals a day. It is not wonderful that classes whose manifest destiny is to be squeezed,

should have sunk down to a dead level of indifference, inertia, apathy, and listlessness.

In spite of reforms, the Korean nation still consists of but two classes, the Robbers and the Robbed,—the official class recruited from the *yang-bans*, the licensed vampires of the country, and the *Ha-in*, literally "low men," a residuum of fully four-fifths of the population, whose *raison d'être* is to supply the blood for the vampires to suck.

Out of such unpromising materials the new nation has to be constructed, by education, by protecting the producing classes, by punishing dishonest officials, and by the imposition of a labour test in all Government offices, *i.e.* by paying only for work actually done.

That reforms are not hopeless, if carried out under firm and capable foreign supervision, is shown by what has been accomplished in the Treasury Department in one year. No Korean office was in a more chaotic and corrupt condition, and the ramifications of its corruption were spread all through the Provinces. Much was hoped when Mr. M'Leavy Brown accepted the thankless position of Financial Adviser, from his known force of character and remarkable financial capacity, but no one would have ventured to predict what has actually occurred.

Although his efforts at financial reform have been thwarted at every turn, not alone by the rapacity of the King's male and female favourites, and the measureless cunning and craft of corrupt officials, who incite the Sovereign to actions concerning money which are subversive of the fairest schemes of financial rectitude, but by chicane, fraud, and corruption in every department; by

the absence of trustworthy subordinates; by infamous traditional customs; and the fact that every man in office, and every man hoping for office, is pledged by his personal interest to oppose every effort at reform actively or passively, Korean finance stands thus at the close of 1897.

In a few months the Augean stable of the Treasury Department in Seoul has been cleansed; the accounts are kept on a uniform system, and with the utmost exactitude; "value received" precedes payments for work; an army of drones, hanging on to all departments and subsisting on public money, has been disbanded; a partial estimate has been formed of the revenue which the Provinces ought to produce; superfluous officials unworthily appointed find that their salaries are not forthcoming; every man entitled to receive payment is paid at the end of every month; nothing is in arrears; great public improvements are carried out with a careful supervision which ensures rigid economy; the accounts of every Department undergo strict scrutiny; no detail is thought unworthy of attention; and instead of Korea being bankrupt, as both her friends and enemies supposed she would be in July 1896, she closed the financial year in April 1897 with every account paid and a million and a half in the Treasury, out of which she has repaid one million of the Japanese loan of three millions. If foreign advisers of similar calibre and capacity were attached to all the Departments of State similar results might in time be obtained.

One thing is certain, that the war and the period of the energetic ascendency of Japan have given Korea so rude a

shake, and have so thoroughly discredited various customs and institutions previously venerated for their antiquity, that no retrograde movements, such as have been to some extent in progress in 1897, can replace her in the old grooves.

Seoul is Korea for most practical purposes, and the working of the Western leaven, the new impulses and modes of thought introduced by Western education, the inevitable contact with foreigners, and the influence of a free Press are through Seoul slowly affecting the nation. Under the shadow of Chinese suzerainty the Korean *yang-ban* enjoyed practically unlimited opportunities for the extortions and tyrannies which were the atmosphere of patrician life. Japan introduced a new theory on this subject, and practically gave the masses to understand that they possess rights which the classes are bound to respect, and the Press takes the same line.

It is slowly dawning upon the Korean peasant farmer, through the medium of Japanese and Western teaching, that to be an ultimate sponge is not his inevitable destiny, that he is entitled to civil rights, equality before the eye of the law, and protection for his earnings.

The more important of the changes during the last three years which are beneficial to Korea may be summarised thus: The connection with China is at an end, and with the victories of Japan the Korean belief in the unconquerable military power of the Middle Kingdom has been exploded, and the alliance between two political systems essentially corrupt has been severed. The distinction between patrician and plebeian has been abolished, on paper at least, along with domestic slavery, and the

disabilities which rendered the sons of concubines ineligible for high office. Brutal punishments and torture are done away with, a convenient coinage has replaced *cash*, an improved educational system has been launched, a disciplined army and police force has been created, the Chinese literary examinations are no longer the test of fitness for official employment, a small measure of judicial reform has been granted, a railroad from Chemulpo to the capital is being rapidly pushed to completion, the pressure of the Trades Guilds is relaxed, a postal system efficiently worked and commanding confidence has been introduced into all the Provinces, the finances of the country are being placed on a sound basis, the change from a land-tax paid in kind to one which is an assessment in money on the value of the land greatly diminishes the opportunities for official "squeezing," and large and judicious retrenchments have been carried out in most of the metropolitan and provincial departments.

Nevertheless, the Government *Gazette* of the 12th of August 1897 contains the following Royal Edicts:—

I

We have been looking into the condition of the country. We have realised the imminent danger which threatens the maintenance of the nation. But the people of both high and low classes do not seem to mind the coming calamity and act indifferently. Under the circumstances the country cannot prosper. We are depending upon Our Ministers for their advice and help, but they do not respond to our trust. How are we going to bring the nation out of its chaotic condition? We desire them to pause and to think that they cannot enjoy their homes unless the integrity of the nation is preserved. We confess that We have not performed our part properly, but Our Ministers and other

officials ought to have advised Us to refrain from wrong-doing as their ancestors had done to Our forefathers. We will endeavour to do what is right and proper for our country hereafter, and We trust Our subjects will renew their loyalty and patriotism in helping Us to carry out Our aim. Our hope is that every citizen in the land will consider the country's interest first before thinking of his private affairs. Let Us all join Our hearts to preserve the integrity of Our country.

II

The welfare of Our people is our constant thought. We realise that since last year's disturbance Our people have been suffering greatly on account of lack of peace and order. The dead suffers as much as the living, but the Government has not done anything to ameliorate the existing condition. This thought makes Us worry to such an extent that the affluence by which We are surrounded is rather uncomfortable. If this fact is known to Our provincial officials they will do their best to ameliorate the condition of the people. Compulsory collection of unjust taxes and thousands of lawless officials and Government agents rob the helpless masses upon one pretence or another. Why do they treat Our people so cruelly? We hereby order the provincial officials to look into the various items of illegal taxes now being collected, and abolish them all without reservation. Whoever does not heed this edict will be punished according to the law.[1]

Though the Koreans of to-day are the product of centuries of disadvantages, yet after nearly a year spent in the country, during which I made its people my chief study, I am by no means hopeless of their future, in spite of the distinctly retrograde movements of 1897. Two things, however, are essential.

I. That, as Korea is incapable of reforming herself from within, she must be reformed from without.

[1] The good intentions of the Korean Sovereign, as well as the weakness which renders them ineffective, are typically illustrated in these two pathetic documents.

II. That the power of the Sovereign must be placed under stringent and permanent constitutional checks.

Hitherto I have written exclusively on Korean internal affairs, her actual condition, and the prospects of the social and commercial advancement of the people. I conclude with a few remarks on the political possibilities of the Korean future, and the relations of Korea with certain other powers.

The geographical position of Korea, with a frontier conterminous with those of China and Russia, and divided from Japan by only a narrow sea, has done much to determine her political relationships. The ascendency of China grew naturally out of territorial connection, and its duration for many centuries was at once the cause and effect of a community in philosophy, customs, and to a great extent in language and religion. But Chinese control is at an end, and China can scarcely be regarded as a factor in the Korean situation.

Japan having skilfully asserted her claim to an equality of rights in Korea, after several diplomatic triumphs and marked success in obtaining fiscal and commercial ascendency, eventually, by the overthrow of her rival in the late war, secured political ascendency likewise; and the long strife between the two empires, of which Korea had been the unhappy stage, came to an end.

The nominal reason for the war, to which the Japanese Government has been careful to adhere, was the absolute necessity for the reform of the internal administration of a State too near the shores of Japan to be suffered to sink annually deeper into an abyss of misgovernment and ruin. It is needless to speculate upon the ultimate object

which Japan had in view in undertaking this unusual task. It is enough to say that she entered upon it with great energy; and that, while the suggestions she enforced introduced a new *régime*, struck at the heart of privilege and prerogative, revolutionised social order, and reduced the Sovereign to the position of a "salaried automaton," the remarkable ability with which her demands were formulated gave them the appearance of simple and natural administrative reforms.

I believe that Japan was thoroughly honest in her efforts; and though she lacked experience, and was oft-times rough and tactless, and aroused hostile feeling needlessly, that she had no intention to subjugate, but rather to play the *rôle* of the protector of Korea and the guarantor of her independence.

For more than a year, in spite of certain mistakes, she made fair headway, accomplished some useful and important reforms, and initiated others; and it is only just to her to repeat that those which are now being carried out are on the lines which she laid down. Then came Viscount Miura's savage *coup*, which discredited Japan and her diplomacy in the eyes of the civilised world. This was followed by the withdrawal of her garrisons, and of her numerous advisers, controllers, and drill-instructors, and the substitution of an apparently *laissez-faire* policy for an active dictatorship. I write "apparently," because it cannot for a moment be supposed that this sagacious and ambitious Empire recognised the unfortunate circumstances in Korea as a finality, and retired in despair!

The landing of Japanese armies in Korea, and the

subsequent declaration of war with China, while they gave the world the shock of a surprise, were, as I endeavoured to point out briefly in chapter xiii., neither the result of a sudden impulse, nor of the shakiness of a Ministry which had to choose between its own downfall and a foreign war. The latter view could only occur to the most superficial student of Far Eastern history and politics.

Japan for several centuries has regarded herself as possessing vested rights to commercial ascendency in Korea. The harvest of the Korean seas has been reaped by her fishermen, and for 300 years her colonies have sustained a more or less prosperous existence at Fusan. Her resentment of the pretensions of China in Korea, though debarred for a considerable time from active exercise, first by the policy of seclusion pursued by the Tokugawa House, and next by the necessity of consolidating her own internal polity after the restoration, has never slumbered.

To deprive China of a suzerainty which, it must be admitted, was not exercised for the advantage of Korea; to consolidate her own commercial supremacy; to ensure for herself free access and special privileges; to establish a virtual protectorate under which no foreign dictation would be tolerated; to reform Korea on Japanese lines, and to substitute her own liberal and enlightened civilisation for the antique Oriental conservatism of the Peninsula, are aims which have been kept steadily in view for forty years, replacing in part the designs which had existed for several previous centuries.

In order to judge correctly of the action or inaction of

Japan during 1896 and 1897, it must be borne in mind not only that her diplomacy is secret and reticent, but that it is steady; that it has not hitherto been affected by any great political cataclysms at home; that it has less of opportunism than that of almost any other nation, and that the Japanese have as much tenacity and fixity of purpose as any other race. Also, Japanese policy in Korea is still shaped by the same remarkable statesmen, who from the day that Japan emerged upon the international arena have been recognised by the people as their natural leaders, and who have guided the country through the manifold complications which beset the path of her enlightened progress with a celerity and freedom from disaster which have compelled the admiration of the world.

The assassination of the Korean Queen under the auspices of Viscount Miura, and the universal horror excited by the act, rendered it politic for Japan to keep out of sight till the storm which threatened to wreck her *prestige* in Korea had blown over. This temporary retirement was arranged with consummate skill. There were no violent dislocations. The garrisons which were to be withdrawn quietly slipped away, and were replaced by guards only sufficient for the protection of the Japanese Legation, the Japanese telegraph, and other property. The greater number of the Japanese in Korean Government employment fell naturally out of it as their contracts expired, and quietly retired from the country. Ministers of experience, proved ability, and courtesy of demeanour, have succeeded to the post once occupied by Mr. Otori and Viscount Miura. There has been scarcely any

recent interference with Korean affairs, and the Japanese colonists who were much given to bullying and blustering are on greatly improved behaviour, the most objectionable among them having been recalled by orders from home. Diplomatically, Japan has carefully avoided friction with the Korean Government and the representatives of the other Powers. But to infer from this that she has abandoned her claims, or has swerved from her determination to make her patronage essential to the well-being of Korea, would be a grave mistake.

It has been said that whatever Japan lost in Korea Russia gained. It is true that the King in his terror and apprehension threw himself upon the protection of the Russian Minister, and remained for more than a year under the shelter of the Russian flag, and that at his request a Russian Military Commission arrived to reorganise and drill the Korean army, that Russia presented 3000 Berdan rifles to Korea, that a Russian financier spent the autumn of 1896 in Seoul investigating the financial resources and prospects of the country, and that the King, warned by disastrous experiences of betrayal, prefers to trust his personal safety to his proximity to the Russian military quarters.

But "Russian Ascendency," in the sense of "*Control*" in which Japanese ascendency is to be understood, has never existed. The Russian Minister used the undoubtedly influential position which circumstances gave him with unexampled moderation, and only brought his influence to bear on the King in cases of grave misrule. The influence of Russia, however, grew quietly and naturally, with little of external manifestation, up to March 1897, when the

publication of a treaty, concluded ten months before between Russia and Japan,[1] caused something of a revulsion of feeling in favour of the latter country, and Russia has been slowly losing ground. Her policy is too pacific to allow of a quarrel with Japan, and a quarrel would be the inevitable result of any present attempt at dictatorship in Korea. So far, she has pursued a strictly opportunist course, taking no steps except those which have been forced upon her; and even if the Korean pear were ready to drop into her mouth, I greatly doubt if she would shake the tree.

At all events, Russia let the opportunity of obtaining ascendency in Korea go by. It is very likely that she never desired it. It may be quite incompatible with other aims, at which we can only guess. At the same time, the influence of Japan is quietly and steadily increasing. Certainly the great object of the triple intervention in the treaty negotiations in Shimonoseki was to prevent Japan from gaining a foothold on the mainland of the Asiatic Continent; but it does not seem altogether impossible that, by playing a waiting game and profiting by previous mistakes, she, without assuming a formal protectorate, may be able to add, for all practical purposes of commerce and emigration, a mainland province to her Empire. Forecasts are dangerous things,[2] but it is safe to say that if Russia, not content with such quiet developments as may be in prospect, were to manifest any aggressive designs on Korea, Japan is powerful enough to

[1] See Appendix E.

[2] As "it is the unexpected which happens," it would not be surprising if certain moves, ostensibly with the object of placing the independence of Korea on a firm basis, were made at any time.

put a brake on the wheel! Korea, however, is incapable of standing alone, and unless so difficult a matter as a joint protectorate could be arranged, she must be under the tutelage of either Japan or Russia.

If Russia were to acquire an actual supremacy, the usual result would follow. Preferential duties and other imposts would gradually make an end of British trade in Korea with all its large potentialities. The effacement of British political influence has been effected chiefly by a policy of *laissez-faire*, which has produced on the Korean mind the double impression of indifference and feebleness, to which the dubious and hazy diplomatic relationship naturally contributes. If England has no contingent interest in the political future of a country rich in undeveloped resources and valuable harbours, and whose possession by a hostile Power might be a serious peril to her interests in the Far East, her policy during the last few years has been a sure method of evidencing her unconcern.

Though we may have abandoned any political interest in Korea, the future of British trade in the country remains an important question. Such influence as England possesses, being exercised through a non-official channel, and therefore necessarily indirect, is owing to the abilities, force, and diplomatic tact of Mr. M'Leavy Brown, the Chief Commissioner of Customs, formerly of H.B.M.'s Chinese Consular Service. So long as he is in control at the capital, and such upright and able men as Mr. Hunt, Mr. Oiesen, and Mr. Osborne are Commissioners at the Treaty Ports, so long will England be commercially important in Korean estimation.

The Customs revenue, always increasing, and collected at a cost of 10 per cent only, is the backbone of Korean finance; and everywhere the ability and integrity of the administration give the Commissioners an influence which is necessarily in favour of England, and which produces an impression even on corrupt Korean officialism. That this service should remain in our hands is of the utmost practical importance. In the days of Japanese ascendency there was a great desire to upset the present arrangement, but it was frustrated by the tact and firmness of the Chief Commissioner. The next danger is that it should pass into Russian hands, which would be a severe blow to our *prestige* and interests. This danger is imminent, and it is very likely that Mr. de Speyer, the new Russian Minister, may bring such pressure to bear on the Korean Government as may compel it to make an end of British control both in the Customs and Financial Departments.

Some of the leading Russian papers are agitating this question, and the *Novoie Vremia* of 9th September 1897, in writing of the opening of the ports of Mok-po and Chi-nam-po to foreign trade, says:—"These encroachments are chiefly due to the cleverness of the British officials who are at the head of the Financial and Customs Departments of the Korean administration." It adds, "If Russia tolerates any further increase in this policy . . . Great Britain will convert the country into one of her best markets." The *Novoie Vremia* goes on to urge "the Russian Government to exercise, before it is too late, a more searching surveillance than at present, to take steps to reduce the number of British officials in the Korean Government (the Customs) and to compel Japan

to withdraw what are practically the military garrisons which she has established in Korea."

Such, in brief outline, is the position of political affairs in Korea at the close of 1897. Her long and close political connection with China is severed; she has received from Japan a gift of independence which she knows not how to use; England, for reasons which may be guessed at, has withdrawn from any active participation in her affairs; the other European Powers have no interests to safeguard in that quarter; and her integrity and independence are at the mercy of the most patient and the most ambitious of Empires, whose interests in the Far East are conflicting, if not hostile.

It is with great regret that I take leave of Korea, with Russia and Japan facing each other across her destinies. The distaste I felt for the country at first passed into an interest which is almost affection, and on no previous journey have I made dearer and kinder friends, or those from whom I parted more regretfully. I saw the last of Seoul in snow in the blue and violet atmosphere of one of the loveliest of her winter mornings, and the following day left Chemulpo in a north wind of merciless severity in the little Government steamer *Hyenik* for Shanghai, where the quaint Korean flag excited much interest and questioning as she steamed slowly up the river.

Postscript

The following notification made by the Korean Sovereign's order, which reached me as this sheet was passing through the press, is a striking commentary on the Royal Edict on p. 285, and indicates the chaos to which the Royal will reduces Government in Korea.

The Royal Household Department has made the following official communication to the Home Department :—"Since the new regulations came into force the income of the Royal Household has been materially reduced, causing much difficulty in carrying on the various work in the Department. Therefore the Department has established a Bureau to collect certain duties from the tradesmen of the country at the rate of 20 per cent from their gross receipts. The Bureau has sent out agents to the provinces with specific orders from His Majesty. But lately the Department has learned that the Home Department issued an order to the Governors to ignore the agents of the Royal Household Department. The Department considers the order very injurious to the interest of the Department, and hereby requests the Home Department to issue another to the effect that the Governors must give ample protection and assistance to them in collecting the revenue for the Royal Household Department. The Department makes this request by order of His Majesty."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX

MISSION STATISTICS

Name of Mission.	Year of beginning work in Korea.	Number of married male Missionaries.	Number of unmarried male Missionaries.	Number of unmarried female Missionaries.	Number of stations where Missionaries reside.	Number of out stations where no Missionaries reside.	Number of organised churches.	Number of churches wholly self-supporting.	Number of churches partially self-supporting.	Number of communicants received during past year.	Number of catechumens or probationers received during past year.	Number dismissed during past year.	Number of deaths during past year.	Present membership.
American Presbyterian Mission (North)	1884	11	2	5	4	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
American Presbyterian Mission (South)	1892	4	2	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Australian Presbyterian Mission . .	1891	1	...	3	1	...	13	8	5	210	635	3	2	510
Y.M.C.A. Mission of Canada . . .	1889	1	...	...	1		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
American Meth. Epis. Mission (North) .	1885	8	7	7	4	4	7	...	7	57	588	...	2	266
American Meth. Epis. Mission (South) .	1896	1												
Ella Thing Memorial Mission (Baptist) .	1895	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	1
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1890	...	9	7	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Société des Missions-Étrangères . .	1784	...	26	8	19	466	18	...	...	1250	...	...	515	28,802

* Besides much in labour and in contributions for support of native evangelists,

A.

FOR KOREA, 1896.

Number of Sabbath schools.	Number of pupils in Sabbath schools.	Number of day schools.	Number of pupils in day schools.	Number of boarding-schools for boys.	Number of boarding-schools for girls.	Number of pupils in boarding-schools for boys.	Number of pupils in boarding-schools for girls.	Number of theological schools.	Number of theological students.	Number of native ministers.	Number of unordained preachers and helpers.	Number of Bible-women.	Number of hospitals.	Number of in-patients treated during past year.	Number of dispensaries.	Number of patients treated during past year.	Native contributions for all purposes during past year.
...	...	7	139	1	1	50	35	...	...	...	13	4	3	339	7	20,295	$796·44*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	2,000	
10	783																
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	9	...	...	...	1	1					
7	512	4	121	1	1	110	50	...	...	...	10	5	2	116	4	7,778	$647·37
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$.60
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	795	3	29,786	
...	...	21	204	2		271		1	24	3	16						

schools, and the enlargement and construction of Church edifices.

APPENDIX B

Direct Foreign Trade of Korea, 1886–96

(*i.e.* net value of foreign goods imported in foreign, or foreign-type, vessels into the Treaty Ports, and taken cognisance of by the foreign Customs ; and of native goods similarly exported and re-exported from the Treaty Ports to foreign countries.)

Year.	Net Imports of Foreign Goods (i.e. exclusive of Foreign Goods re-exported to Foreign Countries).	Exports and Re-exports [1] of Native Goods to Foreign Countries.	Total.
1886	$2,474,185	$504,225	$2,978,410
1887	2,815,441	804,996	3,620,437
1888	3,046,443	867,058	3,913,501
1889	3,377,815	1,233,841	4,611,656
1890	4,727,839	3,550,478	8,278,317
1891	5,256,468	3,366,344	8,622,812
1892	4,598,485	2,443,739	7,042,224
1893	3,880,155	1,698,116	5,578,271
1894	5,831,563	2,311,215	8,142,778
1895	8,088,213	2,481,808	10,570,021
1896	6,531,324	4,728,700	11,260,024

Note.—The increase in the foreign trade of Korea between 1886 and 1896 may not have been so great as the above figures without explanation would imply. It is generally stated that side by side with the trade in foreign vessels at the Treaty Ports a considerable traffic has been carried on by junk between non-Treaty ports in Korea and ports in China and Japan. This junk trade was probably much larger in the earlier years of the period the figures of which are compared, and the rapid development shown in the table may be partly due to the increasing transfer of traffic from native craft to foreign-type vessels which offer greater regularity and safety and less delay.

[1] *i.e.* including native goods imported from another Korean port and re-exported to a foreign country.

Comparative Table of the net Dues and Duties collected at the Three Ports for the Years 1884–96

Year.	Import Duties.	Export Duties.	Tonnage Dues.	Total.
1884	$79,373·71	$19,234·74	$3,478·19	$102,086·64
1885	119,364·41	19,602·22	2,996·90	141,963·53
1886	132,757·12	24,812·11	2,708·75	160,277·98
1887	203,271·68	40,384·52	3,045·12	246,701·32
1888	219,759·81	43,330·62	4,124·55	267,214·98
1889	213,457·49	61,835·23	4,707·04	279,999·76
1890	327,460·11	178,552·14	8,587·90	514.600·15
1891	372,022·07	168,096·36	8,940·26	549,058·69
1892	308,954·18	123,212·24	6,247·05	438,413·42
1893	262,679·28	85,720·22	5,717·16	354,116·66
1894	357,828·34	115,779·33	7,398·64	481,006·31
1895	601,588·06	124,261·22	15,448·20	741,297·48
1896	448,137·16	226,342·45	17,304·75	691,784·36

Comparative Statement of the Japanese and non-Japanese Cotton Goods Imported into Korea during the Year 1896.

Description.	Classification of Quantity.	Japanese.		Non-Japanese.		Total.	
		Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
			$		$		$
Shirtings—Gray Plain . .	Pieces	6,715	23,660	428,911	1,567,967	435,626	1,591,627
Shirtings—White	,,	31	121	5,445	21,768	5,476	21,889
T-Cloths . .	,,	1,211	2,719	1,660	4,177	2,871	6,896
Drills . .	,,	631	634	11,583	47,998	11,746	48,632
Turkey-Red Cloths	,,	1,652	3,663	7,519	17,349	9,171	21,012
Sheetings .	,,	30,184	115,914	14,793	58,455	44,977	174,369
Cotton Flannel .	,,	762	2,870	1,432	3,927	2,194	6,797
Cotton Blankets .	Pairs	1,625	3,883			1,625	3,883
Cotton Yarn and Thread . .	Piculs	12,821	368,064	1,795	71,386	14,616	439,450
	Value		521,528		1,793,027		2,314,555
Cotton Goods, Unclassed . .	,,	[1]	644,671		[2]379,319		1,023,990
Total . .	Value		1,166,199		2,172,346		3,338,545

[1] Chiefly narrow-width cloth, gray or white, checked or plain. [2] Including $2,549 Chinese Cottons.

APPENDIX C

RETURN of Principal Articles of Export (net) to Foreign Countries for the Years 1896–95.

Articles.	Chemulpo.		Fusan.		Wön-san.	
	1896.	1895.	1896.	1895.	1896.	1895.
Beans	£48,485	£45,679	£65,731	£22,337	£24,132	£32,049
Fish (dried manure) .	..	..	4,296	639	4,304	312
Cow-hides . . .	8,789	14,036	11,077	37,225	4,424	6,152
Ginseng	29,789	575				
Paper	2,326	1,785	1,806	2,236	24	9
Rice	92,444	62,390	178,852	17,646	549	
Seaweed	55	40	6,705	3,809		
Sundries	12,713	8,992	13,633	9,361	2,101	3,590
Total . . .	£194,551	£133,497	£282,100	£93,253	£35,024	£42,112

	1896.		1895.	
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
Total Exports from Korea .	$4,728,700	£512,275	$2,481,808	£268,862

RETURN of Principal Articles of Foreign Import (net: *i.e.* excluding Re-exports) to Open Ports of Korea during the Years 1896–95.

Articles.	Chemulpo.		Fusan.		Wön-san.	
	1896.	1895.	1896.	1895.	1896.	1895.
Cotton goods—						
Shirtings	£103,196	£172,549	£51,920	£54,011	£21,982	£55,190
Lawns and muslins	6,956	11,554	10,670	8,183	1,072	2,066
Sheetings—						
Japanese	12,508	7,199	..	..	40	1,330
English and American	6,736	8,594	..	..	23	4,500
Japanese piece-goods	14,015	20,129	24,944	19,482	30,867	38,608
Yarn—						
Japanese	27,271	26,098	11,018	3,866	1,590	3,483
English and Indian	5,634	4,876	222	..	1,871	14,364
Other cottons	14,394	29,065	6,363	4,886	8,782	15,125
Total	£190,350	£280,064	£105,137	£91,238	£66,177	£124,666
Woollens	3,266	4,933	578	884	182	333
Metals	7,172	8,620	15,253	10,842	7,690	6,217
Sundries—						
Dyes	4,818	10,704	2,363	3,084	777	1,667
Grass-cloths	2,358	13,641	3,540	1,402	2,241	3,154
Matches	4,798	3,575	4,571	3,348	2,018	1,680
Kerosene oil—						
American	20,035	9,819	9,560	7,479	6,463	3,990
Russian	9,312	457	4,513	478	69	1
Provisions	5,717	3,859	2,358	2,024	381	
Saké	3,018	9,639	2,972	2,818	1,203	1,176
Silk piece goods	28,943	65,057	3,167	5,606	4,058	12,348
Other articles	89,417	111,902	50,828	38,359	26,241	30,884
Total	£181,415	£228,743	£88,878	£65,098	£43,451	£55,400
Grand total	£382,203	£522,360	£209,846	£167,562	£117,500	£186,616
Less excess of re-exports over imports in some articles	1,088	596	..	..	..	126
Net total	£381,115	£521,764	£209,846	£167,562	£117,500	£186,490

	1896.		1895.	
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
Total for Korea	$6,539,630[1]	£708,461	$8,084,465[1]	£875,816

[1] 1 dol. = 2s. 2d.

RETURN of all Shipping Vessels Entered at the Open Ports of Korea during the Year 1896.

Nationality.	Chemulpo.				Fusan.				Wön-san.				Korea.	
	Sailing.		Steam.		Sailing.		Steam.		Sailing.		Steam.		Total.	
	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.
American . .	2	158	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	188
British . .	..	..	3	3,381	..	..	5	56,35	..	..	5	5,635	13	14,651
Chinese . .	56	557	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	557
German . .	..	..	1	808	..	..	5	47,32	..	..	4	3,612	10	9,152
Japanese . .	307	10,278	154	118,145	537	17,035	292	210,645	41	3,227	58	65,654	1,389	424,984
Norwegian .	..	..	2	1,082	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1,082
Russian . .	..	..	2	2,202	..	..	13	10,381	..	..	10	10,234	25	22,817
Korean . .	111	3,572	51	10,375	9	500	16	5,900	8	572	28	4,840	223	25,759
Total . .	476	14,565	213	135,993	546	17,535	331	237,293	49	3,799	105	89,975	1,720	499,160
„ for 1895	531	14,449	242	108,021	497	14,300	272	180,784	61	5,029	93	83,547	1,696	406,130

APPENDIX D

The Foreign Population of the three Korean Treaty Ports was as follows in January 1897 :—

	Chemulpo Settlement.
Japanese	3904
Chinese	404
British	15
German	12
American	7
French	7
Norwegian	3
Greek	3
Italian	1
Portuguese	1
Total	4357
Estimated native population	6756

	Fusan Settlement.
Japanese	5508
Chinese	34
British	10
American	7
German	2
Danish	1
French	1
Italian	1
Total	5564
Estimated native population of Fusan City and the Prefecture of Tung-nai	33,000

	Wön-san Settlement.
Japanese	1299
Chinese	39
American	8
German	3
British	2
French	2
Russian	2
Danish	1
Norwegian	1
Total	1,357
Estimated native population	15,000

APPENDIX E

TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA, WITH REPLY OF H.E. THE KOREAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TRANSLATION

Memorandum

The Representatives of Russia and Japan at Seoul, having conferred under the identical instructions from their respective Governments, have arrived at the following conclusions:—

While leaving the matter of His Majesty's, the King of Korea, return to the Palace entirely to his own discretion and judgment, the Representatives of Russia and Japan will friendly advise His Majesty to return to that place, when no doubts could be entertained concerning his safety.

The Japanese Representative, on his part, gives the assurance, that the most complete and effective measures will be taken for the control of Japanese *soshi*.

The present Cabinet Ministers have been appointed by His Majesty by his own free will, and most of them have held ministerial or other high offices during the last two years and are known to be liberal and moderate men.

The two Representatives will always aim at recommending His Majesty to appoint liberal and moderate men as Ministers, and to show clemency to his subjects.

The Representative of Russia quite agrees with the Representative of Japan that at the present state of affairs in Korea it may be necessary to have Japanese guards stationed at some places for the protection of the Japanese telegraph line between Fusan and Seoul, and that these guards, now consisting of three companies of soldiers, should be withdrawn as soon as possible and replaced by gendarmes, who will be distributed as follows: fifty men at Fusan, fifty men at Ka-heung, and ten men each at ten intermediate posts between Fusan and Seoul.

This distribution may be liable to some changes, but the total number of the gendarme force shall never exceed two hundred men, who will afterwards gradually be withdrawn from such places, where peace and order have been restored by the Korean Government.

For the protection of the Japanese settlements at Seoul and the open ports against possible attacks by the Korean populace, two companies of Japanese troops may be stationed at Seoul, one company at Fusan and one at Wŏn-san, each company not to exceed two hundred men. These troops will be quartered near the settlements, and shall be withdrawn as soon as no apprehension of such attacks could be entertained.

For the protection of the Russian Legation and Consulates the Russian Government may also keep guards not exceeding the number of Japanese troops at those places, and which will be withdrawn as soon as tranquillity in the interior is completely restored.

(Signed) C. WAEBER,
Representative of Russia.
J. KOMURA,
Representative of Japan.

SEOUL, 14*th May* 1896.

Proctocol

The Secretary of State, Prince Lobanow-Rostovskey, Foreign Minister of Russia, and the Marshal Marquis Yamagata, Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, having exchanged their views on the situation of Korea, agreed upon the following articles :—

I

For the remedy of the financial difficulties of Korea, the Governments of Russia and Japan will advise the Korean Government to retrench all superfluous expenditure, and to establish a balance between expenses and revenues. If, in consequence of reforms deemed indispensable, it may be necessary to have recourse to foreign loans, both Governments shall by mutual consent give their support to Korea.

II

The Governments of Russia and Japan shall endeavour to leave to Korea, as far as the financial and economical situation of that country will permit, the formation and maintenance of a national armed force and police of such proportions as will be sufficient for the preservation of the internal peace, without foreign support.

III

With a view to facilitate communications with Korea, the Japanese Government may continue (*continuera*) to administer the telegraph lines which are at present in its hands.

It is reserved to Russia (the rights) of building a telegraph line between Seoul and her frontiers.

These different lines can be repurchased by the Korean Government, so soon as it has the means to do so.

IV

In case the above matters should require a more exact or detailed explanation, or if subsequently some other points should present themselves upon which it may be necessary to confer, the Representatives of both Governments shall be authorised to negotiate in a spirit of friendship.

(Signed) LOBANOW.
YAMAGATA.

Moscow, 9*th June* 1896.

The following is the exact translation of the reply sent to the Japanese Minister by the Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning the Russo-Japanese Convention:—

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Mar. 9th, 2nd year of Kun-yang (1897).

Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 2nd instant, informing me that, on the 14th day of May last, a memorandum was signed at Seoul by H.E. Mr. Komura, the former Japanese Minister Resident, and the Russian Minister, and that, on the 4th of June of the same year, an Agreement was signed at Moscow, by H.E. Marshal Yamagata, the Japanese

Ambassador, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia; and that these two documents have been laid publicly before the Imperial Diet. You further inform me that on the 26th ultimo you received a telegram from your Government, pointing out that the above-mentioned Agreement and Memorandum in no way reflect upon, but, on the contrary, are meant to strengthen, the independence of Korea,—this being the object which the Governments of Japan and Russia had in view,—and you cherish the confident hope that my Government will not fail to appreciate this intention. In accordance with telegraphic instructions received from the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs you enclose copies of the Agreements referred to.

I beg to express my sincere thanks for your despatch and the information it conveys. I would observe, however, that as my Government has not joined in concluding these two Agreements, its freedom of action as an independent Power cannot be restricted by their provisions.—I have, etc.,

(Signed) YE WANYONG,
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

H.E. MR. KATO,
Minister of Japan, etc.

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